

APR 18 1964

## No. 4

**PAGE**

Entered as second-class matter January 10, 1921, at the postoffice at Austin, Texas, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

## BOARD OF EDITORS

CALVIN PERCY PATTERSON

GEORGE WARD STOKING

WILFORD LEMPERT WHITE

---

## ADVISORY EDITORIAL BOARD

### *Agricultural Economics*

V. F. Lee,  
Texas Agricultural and Mechanical  
College

G. O. Branson,  
University of Arkansas

### *Business Administration*

J. B. Trout,  
Louisiana State University

W. F. Haskins,  
Southern Methodist University

### *Economics*

A. E. Adams,  
University of Oklahoma

E. A. Elliott,  
Texas Christian University

### *Government*

C. A. M. Ewing,  
University of Oklahoma

C. W. Finkle,  
Louisiana State University

### *History*

W. O. Hallow,  
Texas Technological College

E. H. Richardson,  
Shannon University

### *Sociology*

W. E. Gentry,  
The University of Texas

W. F. Haskins,  
Baylor University

# THE SOUTHWESTERN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

*The editors disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to*  
THE QUARTERLY

VOL. XI

MARCH, 1931

No. 4

---

## INDUSTRIALIZING THE RED CRUSADE

By S. GALE LOWRIE  
*University of Cincinnati*

In the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce in Moscow, one evening last July, about one hundred men were assembled. They formed an impressive audience, and would be judged by anyone who saw them the rivals of such a group of business men as might gather in any other European or American city. They were plant executives, most of them engineers, trained under a different regime, but devoting themselves energetically to the rehabilitation of Russia. They had worked through the day, and were now met to hear and discuss principles relating to the management of large-scale enterprises. In the street, in the long twilight, others of this same type were rushing along with brief-cases—always with brief-cases—as though the day were too short to keep the plans of management ahead of the machines and the workers.

In a park, a vaudeville, reminiscent of the *Chauve Souris*, entertained all who could get within sight and hearing, and the opera was playing to a packed house. The coöperative shops were crowded far into the night with queues of women and men, replenishing their larders with the single day's ration. But whoever they were and wherever they were—executive or mechanic, actors or clerks, peasants or railway trainmen—they all fit into a definite picture.

They are cogs in a great machine. Not through chance, but in accord with a well-considered program, must each contribute to and share in an economic system in which there is to be neither poverty nor wealth, and where class privilege will be unknown. And the realization of this dream is not awaiting arrival in a far-off Utopia; it is to follow, in its essential features, fast upon the completion of the five-year plan of economic development. Behind a barrier of misrepresentation and censorship which distorts the picture of Russia to the world, and of the world to Russia, history is being shaped.

Filtering news items regarding the great Russian drama have told of religious oppression, the massacre of priests, the destruction of churches, and the secularization of church property; of the persecution of the kulak and the coercion of the peasant; and of the political intolerance of the dictatorship. They have told, too, a brighter story of the mechanization of agriculture, the organization of giant farms, the erection of the enormous hydro-electric stations, which promise to utilize vast water-power for industrial and domestic use throughout a great network of cities and villages; of industrial development; of new methods of education, and of progress in the fine arts.

But these are incidents, even though they are important ones. Underlying all is a guiding philosophy, and for the realization of the dream of the philosophers there is a program or plan of evolution. The development of agriculture, industry, education, and art forms part of this program, and those who seem to retard its realization, be they priests or kulaks, bourgeois or nepmen, are swept aside or crushed to prepare for the advance of the new order. Whether or not we can see eye to eye with those who direct this great movement in their vision of the communistic world, whether or not we feel the goal they seek might be approached through less barbarous tactics, our vantage point should be one which, like theirs, will show us the picture in its entirety, without too great prejudice because of the route they have chosen to follow.

Russia is a communistic state—which means that the principles which control its policies are those of the Communistic Party. These have been developed from the doctrines of Karl Marx. They rest fundamentally on the abolition of all private rights in property, the abolition of classes based on privilege, and the social supremacy of the state.

In so far as the communistic philosophy criticizes the capitalistic system as it has developed in Western Europe and in America, much can be said for it. We seem to have gotten ourselves in a curious cul-de-sac as a result of our competitive system of private property and freedom of enterprise. The assumption has been that if we met the problem of production, consumption would take care of itself; that if we but produce more and more, and do it economically and cheaply, this very production will supply workers and capitalists with wages and interest to satisfy their wants, and that this satisfaction of their wants will supply

the needed markets for the goods we produce. We have turned to mass production with a constant development of machinery for the economy of labor. We are getting goods in greater amounts and at less cost.

Every invention in labor-saving machinery has thrown men out of work and increased the disparity in the distribution of wealth. Now over-production rolls back upon industry itself as well as upon agriculture. Factories which might manufacture shoes, clothing, or articles for the convenience and comfort of the people are closed or run at reduced capacity for want of a market for their goods; all the while our people are suffering from lack of clothing and the necessities of life. The farmer can find but a limited market for his fruit, vegetables, and foodstuffs, while able-bodied men are hungry. The great market for consumption goods is among the wage-earners, and if they are unemployed, they are consequently without the means to satisfy their needs.

For this topsy-turvy situation, various solutions are advanced. Some call for a halt in the process of mechanization, at least until we can catch our breath. This is a suggestion frequently advanced by the laborers who are the victims of the new methods. The reaper and the binder eliminated a back-breaking task, and the unemployed harvesters burned the machines; labor unions required paper money to be printed on hand presses, restrict the use of the paint-gun in replacing men who worked with the brush, and musicians resent the substitution of "canned music" for their orchestras.

Another solution for our industrial difficulties is to develop a consumption economy to replace our production economy. The consumption economy would study the needs of society, economically and culturally, and our power to satisfy these needs in the most economical way and with the least expenditure of human energy.

The communistic program seeks to effect this change. It would supply food, clothing, shelter, and the comforts of life for all, and release them from the fear of loss from unemployment and sickness and from an old age of want. It would abolish special privilege.

The Socialists who have believed in this theory have differed in their councils from the first as to the best way to bring about this reform. The Right, or more moderate wing, have favored a steady evolution from the capitalistic system to that of state socialism, and to accomplish this end have organized political

parties and placed tickets in the field in all countries where they have had sufficient strength. The Left Wing, which includes the more radical, have been unwilling to temporize with the capitalistic system. They have regarded the supporters of the capitalistic regime as their natural enemies, who have lived on privilege. Disregarding national boundaries, they have followed the slogan of Karl Marx: "Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains. You have the world to gain."

But the first opportunity to put this thesis into practice came with the Russian revolution, which so marshaled events that the Communistic Party was able to seize the government. It is because the Russian Government is so entwined with the Communistic International that we have the confusing contradiction as to the responsibility of the Russian Government for foreign party propaganda. It is this dispute which has cut across so much of the diplomatic discussions regarding the Soviet State.

It is the purpose of the Soviet Union not only to abolish capitalism in Russia but to make the country, under their control, independent of capitalistic countries—to make it economically self-contained. Fortunately for their experiment, they have a land rich in the resources which nature provides. It occupies one-seventh of the land surface of the globe, and it lies in two climatic zones. It is a land particularly rich in diversified natural resources. But they must fight against time. The old production system was pretty well demolished by the war and the revolution. With the coming of peace, Russia, like all other countries of Europe, needed goods of all descriptions; the people needed clothing and supplies; factories needed rehabilitation. France, Belgium, Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Jugoslavia, Rumania, Austria, and Hungary concluded foreign loans. This method was denied Russia.

In this situation the government prepared and adopted a plan of economic development embracing what they believe possible of accomplishment during a period of five years. This program is usually spoken of as the Gosplan, and covers the years from 1928-29 until 1932-33. It is one of the most comprehensive industrial programs ever conceived. If it has a counterpart, it is to be found in the production programs of the belligerent countries during the great war. There is a similarity which is helpful in enabling us to comprehend the Gosplan.

Most of us recall the rationing of raw materials—coal, iron, silk, timber, and the others—and their allotment to the "essen-

tial industries." We remember, too, the schedules of production which sought to keep the many processes of fabrication and transportation geared to maintain a steady flow of goods. It is some such synchronized program which is involved in the Gosplan. "The great task set by the five-year plan for the development of the production forces of the Soviet Union, through rapid industrialization and steady strengthening of the socialist elements in national economy," reads the language of the Planning Commission, "is that of attaining and surpassing the economic level of the advanced capitalistic countries in the approaching historical period, and of thus assuring the triumph of the socialist economic system. . . . The object must be, with the aid of the colossal national resources of the Soviet Union, the advantages afforded by its system of an organized and planned national economy, and the latest technical achievements, to secure a rate of economic development higher than that yet attained by modern capitalist countries."

The dominating idea of the Gosplan is the industrialization of the Soviet Union to form a solid foundation for the growth of the socialist element. Agricultural exports, which constituted 80.8 per cent of the total in the period from 1909 to 1913, will be reduced to 50.5 per cent at the conclusion of the five-year program, while industrial exports will rise from 19.2 per cent to 49.5 per cent during this same period.

Thirty-five per cent of the total industrial output is expected to come from new enterprises, not including old plants recon-ditioned during the period. This means that reconstruction and new construction on a large scale must be undertaken while production is carried on at the highest level. The number of technicians will be trebled in these five years.

Twenty-four per cent of the total investment in industry is to be in electrical development, so that the industrial consumption of mechanical force will more than double. A still larger amount—4,000,000,000 of the total of 16,400,000,000 rubles—of capital investment during the five years will go into the metal and machine industry. Twenty-five million rubles will go for new plants for the machine tool industry, and the automobile plant at Nizhni Novgorod will have an annual output of 100,000 cars.

Such a production program calls for large amounts of capital, but foreign capital is not available even for the financing of imports. These latter are paid for almost completely by the sale of exports, and the foreign capital secured through concessions

is hardly 1 per cent of the basic capital called for by the plan. Capital construction must be financed from current savings and by the sacrifice of present needs for the plan. This means the complete elimination of imports of luxuries and the purchase of production rather than consumption goods. From 1923 until 1928, nearly 80 per cent of the imports were production goods.

The progress of this program is noted by the fact that the national income in 1927-28 was more than twice that of pre-war times and was increasing at the rate of 10 per cent per year. By the end of the period, more than half the total national income will be mobilized for financing.

Notwithstanding the advance in the relative position of industry, agriculture is not neglected. There will be 23,000,000,000 rubles invested here, of which 5,800,000,000 will be a direct investment of the state and 9,000,000,000 or 10,000,000,000 will be subject to the state's direction and control. The cotton production will reach such a point that no further importations of this commodity will be needed. To increase the skill of the peasants, 6,000,000 will be given at least an elementary agricultural education.

The program of socialization is not to neglect this important field. Two billions of the state's allotment of 5,800,000,000 rubles in agriculture will go to state and collective farms. The area will increase from 2,300,000 hectares (over 5,666,000 acres) to 26,000,000 hectares (or to nearly 64,250,000 acres) in 1933. The socialized farms will produce nearly 20 per cent of the grain crop, and include 6,000,000 peasant households.

"Power stations"—that is, a village or group of villages with tractors and farm machinery—are making it possible to use modern agricultural methods as they could not be used on the small and narrow individually-owned strips of land so common in Eastern Europe. Eighty-five per cent of all households will be embraced in coöperative organizations by the end of the five-year period.

Karl Marx believed that in the transmission from capitalism to socialism, special consideration must be given to the small producer and entrepreneur; that it might be long before he would be absorbed, and that it would be a mistake to press reforms upon him too rapidly and drive him to antagonizing the new system. A concession was made in this direction by the U.S.S.R. in the New Economic Policy which permitted the Nepmen, as they were

called, to engage in small trade, and recognized individual holdings of the peasants. But this "sector" of the battle front is under attack, too, and rapid progress in socialization is anticipated.

The share of the total amount of capital investments which will go into the socialized fields will rise from 57.7 per cent in 1927-28 to nearly 84 per cent in 1932-33, and the share of the national income from the "socialized sector," which rose from 31 per cent in 1924-25 to 53 per cent in 1927-28, is expected to exceed 66 per cent in 1932. In speaking of a "socialized" field, one under control and direction of a state economic body, or of a coöperative organization, is understood. Of course, the movement for socialization does not move at the same tempo in all fields. It is almost completely accomplished in transportation, in electrification systems, in foreign trade, and in larger industries; less so, in agriculture and smaller trade.

This review of some of the more conspicuous features of the program suggests its magnitude. But it requires something more than a dream to bring it to reality. First of all, capital must be secured for this development program; and, secondly, these industries must be gotten into production. The first problem was met in part by the confiscation of such plants as were already in existence, whether owned by foreigners or natives. The amount seized in this way was very considerable, but of secondary importance in view of the size of the industrial program.

It is nearly sixteen years since Russia entered the war. These have been years of the concentration of capital on war production, of famine, of blockade, and of revolution. This time and these events diminish noticeably the heritage of the socialist state from the period of capitalism. And although Russia was being industrialized before the war, neither she nor any other country ever contemplated such development as is involved in the Gosplan. No; the capital for these great projects must come from savings—by consuming less than is produced. Because of its almost complete control of the agencies of production and distribution, the state has been able to divert capital for construction of plants and the achievement of its purpose. It has added to this by a series of forced domestic loans. Taxes have been high.

Foreign trade is conducted by the government exclusively, and because only short-time credits have been available to purchase foreign goods, it has been necessary to export goods to balance the imports. And because the goods which could be spared for

export have been limited, and the channels of trade have not been open for a free flow of commerce, it has been imperative that these resources be husbanded and applied to the purchase of the most necessary articles. These have been, for the most part, machinery, particularly electrical machinery, and machine tools.

The burden this program has placed upon the people has been very great. There has been a goods famine, and for much of the time a food famine. It is not surprising that the outline of the five-year plan italicizes the following: "Only by great constructive enthusiasm and by iron discipline on this front," "a veritable battle front of reconstruction," "can the great and uncommonly difficult objectives be gained."

The goods famine is apparent to every visitor. The Russians are a clean people—cleanly in person and cleanly in apparel—surprising as this statement may be to those who are familiar with certain types of Russian immigrants. But they look as though they had shopped at a rummage sale. Any kind of clothing will do, or any combination of clothing. As an observer says, "Were one to walk the streets of Moscow dressed only in a mattress, no one would turn to look at him." The explanation lies in the fact that goods cannot be imported, because the government needs all available foreign exchange to purchase *materiel*, and domestic production is not yet sufficiently under way. A visitor in the great coöperative stores will see scarcely an article of foreign manufacture, except a few fabricated or introduced under concessions, and the native substitutes are of poor quality and expensive.

The food famines have not always been severe, but they have been burdensome. They have been due to a multiplicity of causes, such as poor crops and lack of coöperation on the part of the peasants, but in part by the export of more grain than could be spared, to balance the needed imports. The rationing process seems to have been well conceived and designed to prevent waste and to utilize resources to the broadest advantage, but it induces a regimentation of diet, day-to-day buying, and the long queues at the markets. It, too, has called for sacrifice on the part of the people.

Why do the Russian people endure these hardships? It is almost a corner stone of capitalistic philosophy that only the hope of gain and profit will induce savings and sacrifice. What, then, motivates these people, when private gains are denied? The answer is found in the statement quoted above: "iron discipline"

and "great constructive enthusiasm." To develop the latter, a most complete program of civic propaganda has been organized. It purposes to conserve the ground already gained, to guard against "counter-revolution," and with a fanatical zeal urges the extension of the communistic thesis. Responsibility for the program rests with the Communistic Party.

The Communistic Party differs from the political parties as we know them in America and as they are known in most of the countries of the world. The latter have, as a rule, rather unstable memberships of those who sympathize with the political creeds the parties espouse. But the Communistic Party, as organized by Lenin, is restricted to active members who must evidence their faith by their works and report regularly the accomplishment of definite tasks.

Historically, the party dates from the foundation of the Russian Workmen's Social Democratic Party in 1898 by disciples of Karl Marx. The party was chiefly led by political exiles. Disagreements led to a split into two factions at the second congress of the party in 1903, and the majority faction were thereafter known as the Bolshevik (Russian *bolshinstvo*, larger faction of the party), and the minority as the Menshevik (Russian *Menshe*, less). The former favored the carrying out of the whole socialist program at once, controlling the means of production by the workers, and distributing the land among the peasants, by means of a revolution which would place the government in the hands of the proletariat. The latter favored a more gradual program. It was the Bolshevik group which seized the government in 1917, and which, as reorganized by Lenin, formed the Russian Communistic Party in 1918 and the Communistic Party of the Soviet Union in 1923.

In Russia it is commonly spoken of as "The Party," and properly so, because no other party is permitted under the law. In Hungary it is treason to be a Communist. In Russia it is treason to belong to any other party. There are not even factions of this single party.

Trotsky was exiled for "anti-soviet" activity. He led the opposition, which was at first directed against the existing Central Committee of the party. Later, he was charged with the violation of soviet law as well as party discipline, in that he appealed to non-party masses against the Central Committee, and published

independently of party control and communicated party documents outside the party ranks.

The party's control over the government is absolute. Party members have all of the important political and commercial positions. They control the press and all civic agencies outside of the government. It is not a secret order, but, on the contrary, membership is repeatedly disclosed, officially and non-officially, in day-to-day activities. Since organized opposition is impossible, the party members dominate the elections, associations, the soviets, trade unions, and coöperatives, although they constitute a distinct minority of the people.

One might expect membership in such a party would be eagerly sought, particularly by those who aspire to positions of influence and power. But admission is difficult to secure, the discipline severe, and expulsion sure for those who would use party position for personal ends. The party is made up of those whose whole energies are dedicated to the cause of Communism. It is not a harbor for self-seekers. Each applicant must submit a record of activities, sponsored by active members. He must await a period of candidacy, and submit to obligations of membership and to party discipline.

If the applicant is a workman or agricultural laborer, he must be sponsored by two members of one year's standing, but if he be an intellectual, he must have three sponsors of two years' standing and be a candidate for a year. Sponsors are disciplined for recommending unworthy applicants. The easier conditions for the workmen are designed to maintain the predominance of these members in what is avowedly a workers' party. The Russian stands on a red background, holding a sickle and a hammer, but it is the hammer which is held in the right hand.

A member may be assigned to any task the party authorities dictate. He must perform this promptly and to the letter. He may not engage in any private business for individual profit. He will be paid but a limited salary in any government position to which he may be appointed. He must become "politically literate," and possibly attest this qualification by examination. His private life is subject to control, and he may be disciplined for "behavior unbecoming a Communist," such as habitual drunkenness, or observing religious rites. If he run foul of the law, he will receive not a milder but a more severe penalty at the hands of

the court because of his party membership, and, in addition, he may be punished by the party.

From time to time the party "purges" itself of those whom it believes have joined for selfish purposes, by re-registration. One-fourth of the members, numbering some 175,000, lost their memberships at the first reaffirmation in 1921, 265,000 were dropped up to July 1, 1928, and an even more thorough canvass of members occurred in the summer of 1929. In every cell, each individual member must be discussed in an open meeting to which non-party workmen and peasants have been invited.

The statistical department of the Central Committee of the party placed the party membership before the re-examination of last summer as 1,529,280. Probably one-tenth of these have since been dropped. Sixty and six-tenths percent of the members were reported as of workman origin, and 41.5 per cent of these were actively engaged in manual work, while 21.5 per cent were reported of peasant origin, of whom less than 10 per cent were engaged exclusively in agriculture.

The extent to which communistic propaganda is carried on to indoctrinate the people, particularly the youth, defies exaggeration. It is rivaled only by the religious fanaticism which has at times seized both Christian and Moslem countries. No activity or interest escapes it. There is much direct communistic propaganda extending from the party schools, where both the principles of the party and methods of agitation and propaganda are studied, to the workers' clubs, where reading circles are maintained, and to the Museums of the Revolution, which are both permanent and traveling exhibits, reciting by models, charts, photographs, and cartoons the horrors of czarist days, the oppression of the worker in capitalistic countries, and the vision of the future, when the workers will come into full enjoyment of the fruits of the fully socialized state.

It permeates the whole educational system, making the schools, primarily, agencies for communistic propaganda, and censoring strictly anything which might seem to favor, even remotely, institutions of a capitalistic society. The press is strictly censored. Telegraphic dispatches, periodicals, books, and mail, whether entering or leaving the country, are closely examined. Even scientific works do not escape this censorship. The Russian translation of Prof. E. G. Conklin's "Heredity and Environment" omitted, by order of the government, the chapters on eugenics, and used foot-

notes to call attention to the author's errors due to his capitalistic environment.

Museums and institutes for agricultural or mechanical education exhibit posters of political propaganda. The vaudeville performances have four-minute men who remind the people of the horrors of the czarist days, and compare them with the blessings of today and of the future. The poster and the cinema are instruments of great effectiveness, and the "wall newspapers" and the radios carry the message far and wide.

But it is in the youth of the nation that the hope of the future lies. The Communist Union of Youth is composed of young people from fourteen to twenty-three years of age. Its membership exceeds that of the Communistic Party, and it is at once an agency for political education and for active participation in public affairs. It calls itself the "Young Guard" of the party. Membership in the Komsomol, as it is called, is acquired more easily than in the party. No recommendations and no periods of candidacy are required except for the sons of the bourgeois, who need a period of candidacy and recommendations from two Communists of two years' party standing. Members must give a certain amount of time to civic duties and become politically literate. If in three years a youth has not learned the main principles of Leninism, he is expelled. If in good standing, he may join the party at the age of twenty.

Because so many of the older members of the Komsomol are also party members, and because the "cells" of the two organizations parallel each other, the party has a thorough control over the junior organization. From 8 per cent to 10 per cent of the Komsomol, and these the older ones, are party members. The Komsomol publishes a daily paper, *The Komsomol Pravda*, similar to the *Pravda* of the party.

A third group is "The Children's Communistic Organization of Young Pioneers in the Name of Comrade Lenin." The goal of the "Pioneers," as voiced by Krupskaya, the widow of Lenin, "is the liberation of the toilers, and the organization of a new order where there will be no division into classes, no oppression, and no exploitation, and where all people will live a full and a happy life."

As the party sponsors the Komsomol, so does the latter sponsor the Pioneers. To this organization children of the bourgeois, even the clergy, are admitted. Children from ten to sixteen years of age are enrolled. Here, too, it will be noted, is an overlapping of

ages. All Komsomol members, young enough, must be Pioneers, just as all party members of proper age must be members of the Komsomol.

In some respects the Pioneers are organized like Boy Scout troopers. Prof. Samuel N. Harper describes their symbol as follows: "The Pioneer badge is a red flag on which is the soviet symbolism of the hammer and the sickle and a campfire of five logs burning with three flames. The motto on the badge is "Always Ready." The five logs represent the five continents of the earth, the terms in which the Pioneer, as a future international revolutionary, must always think. The three flames represent the Third, or Communistic, International. The full text of the motto is summarized on the badge in the form of an exhortation, "For the struggle in the cause of the workman, be ready," with the response, "Always Ready." There are some two million pioneers. Younger children, from eight to eleven years of age, are organized as "Little Octobrists."

The Communistic Party and the Government of the U.S.S.R. are two separate organizations, even though in practice the former dominates the latter. Each is organized into a pyramid by indirect representation, the one resting upon the "cell" as the lowest form of party organization, the other upon the soviet. The soviet units are not based upon geographical districts, as are our systems of election, but upon occupational bases. Workmen vote where they are employed. It is probably true, as it is claimed, that the voter knows his fellow worker better than his neighbor, and he is not asked to vote for one with whom he has little contact. The soldiers vote by regiments, and the peasants elect the local soviets.

But while non-party electors are in the great majority, and can and do elect a distinct minority of Communists, the control of the party is never in jeopardy. In the first place, the non-party candidates can hardly organize a campaign, because opposition parties are forbidden. The candidates to be voted for are submitted by the Communistic group of the voting unit. Their list may include non-party members and others may announce their candidacy. But it is usually expedient for the soviet to elect a party member, as his influence will be greater, and consequently his ability to aid his constituency. Voting is not secret. It must follow, in consequence, that the process of indirect election sifts out the non-party members rapidly.

Among the electors themselves, the workmen are given a preponderance of power. The bourgeois are denied the suffrage, although a member of the intelligentsia doing socially useful work may vote. The clergy are disfranchised by the constitution. The advantage the workers enjoy over the peasants is widened by making the representation of the former, which is based upon the number of votes cast, five times smaller than the representation of the latter, which is based on population. Professor Harper believes this gives the peasant but half of the strength he might otherwise enjoy. But the leadership of the workman frankly underlies the soviet plan, and it is claimed that this political advantage is necessary to compensate for the disparity in numbers.

The appointed administrators are almost invariably Communists. The executive committees appoint and control the administration officials of the Soviet Government. The party assumes sole responsibility for leadership.

Besides the Soviet Government and the party, there is a third type of organization, the trade union. If it is difficult to join the party and to keep in good standing, it is difficult to avoid the union. So far as the city workers are concerned, it is the most universal and conspicuous social unit. The unions extend to include research scientists, teachers, students, technicians, agricultural workers, and even shepherds.

Through the unions, many of the socialized state services are performed, such as sick benefits, unemployment insurance, the maintenance of workmen's clubs, of vacation houses, the distribution of tickets to entertainments, and the allotment of rationing cards. Preferential rates at government stores are often available to those with union cards. It is difficult for non-union workers to secure employment. As in capitalistic countries, the unions concern themselves with wages and conditions of work. These are determined by the government in conference with the trade-union officials. Individual grievances are brought to the unions rather than to the management. Between the government and the union stands the party, coördinating and controlling both. The party and Komsomol elements are active in union management.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is but a branch of the Communist International. It is, however, the controlling force in this latter organization. This relation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Interna-

tional has been a matter of dispute between the U.S.S.R. and other countries. The latter have regarded the propaganda activities of the Communists as the unwarranted and unfriendly interference in domestic affairs on the part of the Russians. To this the Russians have replied that they have, in fact, been innocent of any such activity, and consider mutual non-intervention in internal affairs indispensable in their relations to all states. But they disclaim responsibility for such steps as the Communist International may see fit to take to extend its influence over the world.

In this position it would seem that the Russians are technically in the right, and the U.S.S.R. as a government and the Communist International as a party organized on a world-wide basis are legally quite distinct. But there is an interlocking directorate which makes this technical explanation little more than fiction. As we have noted, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is in complete control of the Union of Soviet Republics and is also the dominating force in the Communist International. Mr. Hughes, when Secretary of State, referred to the Soviet Government, the Russian Communist Party, and the Communist International as in reality three phases of one movement.

The Soviet Government maintains a strict monopoly of foreign trade. The Amtorg is a trading corporation organized to purchase for the government such supplies and material as are needed for import, and to sell Russian goods in foreign markets. Amtorg offices are maintained in many foreign countries, including our own. In addition to this agency, the Russian Chamber of Commerce is commissioned to advance the sale of Russian goods abroad.

Prices of Russian goods are expressed in rubles, and rubles are translated into American money at the exchange rate of  $51\frac{1}{2}$  cents per ruble. This exchange rate is fixed by the government, and means two things: First, if prices of goods offered for sale in America are quoted in rubles, their price can be translated into dollars by application of the formula —  $R = \$.51\frac{1}{2}$ . Such prices might just as well be quoted in dollars in the first place, as they are priced at what they will bring in America rather than at what they are produced for in Russia.

Secondly, the exchange rate means that if one enters Russia with foreign currency, and wishes to secure Russian currency, with which all transactions must be conducted, he may purchase, from the government only, rubles at this legal rate. In other

words, the exchange rate is pegged, fixed at a certain price by government fiat. We did this during the war with certain foreign exchanges—the British pound was fixed at \$4.76 and the French franc at about 17 cents. This meant that this currency was taken off the exchange and was not offered for purchase or sale. As soon as the currencies were restored to the exchange, their values fluctuated with the demand for them and the supply.

The Russian currency is not quoted on any exchange because the export and import of rubles is forbidden. Except that there is some bootlegging of money, Russian rubles in a foreign country are valuable only as souvenirs, as they have no purchasing power outside the Soviet Union, and cannot be taken within, where alone they are valued as currency.

This explains two phenomena of Russian trade, the absence of relation between the foreign price of Russian goods and the cost of their production; and, secondly, the apparently high cost of domestic articles priced in rubles. When the Russian Government wishes foreign products, it must go into the foreign market and buy these with a foreign exchange. To secure this exchange, it must sell goods in a foreign market for such prices as these goods will bring in the currency of that market. These prices, as translated into rubles, may be less than the number of rubles it cost to produce them, but the disparity is explainable in the fictitious rate of exchange the government has fixed. If a French manufacturer sells abroad for a less number of francs than it cost him to produce, he is either "dumping" an excess production or moving toward bankruptcy, because the franc in the terms of which he sells and the franc in the terms of which he buys is the same franc. In the case of the ruble, it is not.

Within the country, however, the ruble has a constant value. The workman on a piece-work job, the official on a salary, and the peasant who raises grain are paid in rubles. But they do not buy in a common market. The trade-union member's card gives him a differential in the store, his lodgings are assigned to him, and the price is set by the government. There are differentials in theaters, amusements, in sickness, and in funeral expenses. So completely socialized are the affairs of his every-day life that it is difficult to compare costs of living either in terms of money or wages. Should a friend from abroad send a Russian a draft, he must sell it to the government. Should he give him goods or merchandise, it will mean a heavy settlement with the appraisers.

The process of economic socialization is still far from complete. It will be but 69 per cent accomplished at the end of the five-year period. In fact, the New Economic Policy made a concession to the private entrepreneur. But this ground is being reclaimed. A drive is in progress against the Nepmen, and the kulak is feeling the force of the government's power. With respect to the latter, particularly, the government is in a position similar to that often enjoyed by a large industrial trust. With its giant farms, it can not only raise the grain needed for export, but it can break the domestic market by sending its crop to compete in the local areas.

Like all countries in which there is industrial progress, Russia is drawing men and women from the farms to the cities. A social readjustment, which has been difficult for the rest of the world, is doubly troublesome because the peasant has had even less education, and the change from village life, where electricity and steam power were unknown, to the congestion of a great metropolis is very abrupt. Workingmen's apartments and workers' clubs have been erected, trade schools organized, adult education instituted, and by innumerable processes the rustic has been regimented into a new way of life.

Nor has the peasant in the village been neglected. Better agricultural methods have been taught, village schools promoted, health and welfare work inaugurated, and strides taken in motorizing agriculture, developing agronomy, increasing the agricultural products, and improving village life. The world has much to learn from the Soviet Government, which has carried adult education to the advanced position it occupies.

But what of the intellectuals? What of our engineers who have heard a message from another world and who go out into the night to face the realities of a changed and changing Russia? They have set their backs to the past, and have devoted their lives and energies to the building of a new country. But it is a country which is theirs in only a sense. They are more or less under suspicion; their children are discriminated against in the primary, and even in the trade schools or in the revolutionary army, in favor of the sons of workers. Their professional opinions may be swept aside for political policies which may be far removed from the immediate issue of production. Their country may exploit their talents, but them she hardly trusts.

Though she may deny the Teacher, Soviet Russia believes the Word—that where one's treasure is, or even where it has been,

there will the heart be also. They remember Lot's wife. It is in the youth, those fired with the earnestness of zealots, rather than in the intellectuals, that the government has pledged her faith.

Government, trade union, and party, pyramiding by indirect election to form a small governing group dominated by the party leaders, constitute without doubt the greatest bureaucracy the world has ever known.

Political revolutions do not come with a sudden *coup d'etat*. Social institutions rather evolve. The Russian revolution did not overthrow a virile government established upon the firm foundations of a state adjusted to the social, economic, and political growth of her people. The throne of the Romanoffs had long been tottering. And the system which replaces it must grow slowly with the political, economic, and social advance of the country.

The Communists conceive of their program in three distinct stages: the first, the seizure of power through the revolution; the second, a period of transition, a tutelage of dictatorship, before the last stage of the triumph of the revolution may be reached. The first and second stages are decidedly militant. The gains already made must be guarded. The Russians live in a psychology of war. They speak of this "front" and that "sector" when referring to their economic program, as though it were actual warfare. Dictatorships seem always to be militant, whether Communist or Fascist, whether that of a Peter the Great or a Kublai Khan.

The Red Army is extolled—much as was the football team by the American college student before his place was usurped by the merchants, hotel proprietors, and chambers of commerce. The American youth was taught to fight the good fight, to be a soldier of the Cross, and to march as to war; but there is a greater reality in these words for the young Octobrist. His blood-red banner which streams afar has upon it the sickle and the hammer, and there is a five-pointed star typifying the five continents, and there are the five flames of fire.

The first task of the Communistic Party is to intrench itself within the territory already won. It sees enemies within and without. This is the explanation of its zeal in guarding against counter-revolutionary propaganda. Key positions are held by those who in thought, word, and deed are committed to the new regime. Propaganda, censorship, and the cheka are employed to guard and protect the positions attained.

The danger, perhaps, is more economic than political. The Russians are used to bad government. In the vast stretches outside the great cities little government is needed. Nor are there leaders among the great masses of peasants who might arouse this dormant power and galvanize it into action. The coöperatives, or large-scale agricultural projects, may develop a Mussolini or a Sun Yat-sen, a Cromwell or a Napoleon, but such a danger does not seem as yet to threaten. The leadership is with the industrialists, and their class is for the present at once that of greatest privilege and power.

But upon the great economic experiment much depends. All has been staked on this. A series of bad crops, or such a blunder in production as any great enterprise is likely to experience, may write failure over this great adventure. No wonder the production executives toil into the night, the party leaders council anxiously, and the men with the black portfolios rush along the streets.

The economic program of the Soviet Union calls for iron discipline and constructive enthusiasm. There has been a tightening of the belts of the workers and peasants. But what if the plan fails? What if the revolution should pause half way? If, to the 4,250,000 square miles of China we add vast regions to the north and west, and have altogether nearly 22 per cent of the land surface of the earth over which there is no responsible government? What if Russia, like China, having overthrown the monarchy, should find herself unable to advance in political development or return to the older ways?

The economic plan of the soviets is an ambitious one, but it is her only salvation. Failure would be not only disastrous to Russia; it would be harmful to the rest of the world as well. Old Russia was built upon an agricultural economy, and the system of peasant farm holdings was extremely wasteful. Agronomy had developed to a high point, but the land was being mined, and an economic revolution which would alleviate the necessity for such a great agricultural export by an expansion of industry could not have been delayed much longer. This change is coming about under the dictatorship of the industrialists. Could it be accomplished without the political fanaticism which has motivated it thus far? Is it necessary to preach the doctrine of fear and hatred of capitalistic countries, to maintain faith in the new rulers? Foreign hatreds nourish nationalism, and often aid in

the prosecution of a nationalistic program. But seeds of hatred take root and nourish ugly fruit.

Or will the success of the communistic experiment threaten the political institutions of the western world? If it does, it will hardly be by revolution. Such changes as the capitalistic world may evolve are more likely to follow the gradual developments which have marked the progress of democratic institutions hitherto. The danger of a sweep of communism passed with the failure of the advance into Germany and Austria. As the Germanic peoples checked the crusade under the crescent in years gone by, so have they again stopped the western march under the red flag and the five-pointed star.

## PARTY IRREGULARITY IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, 1869-1901

BY THOMAS A. BAILEY

*Stanford University*

Few periods in United States history have witnessed more important or more controversial issues than those that appeared between 1869 and 1901. Concerning certain phases of party protest and revolt during these years, detailed studies have already been made.<sup>1</sup> But as yet no comprehensive treatment of party irregularity in the Senate has been forthcoming. The belief that such an investigation would be justified by the uncovering of valuable information regarding contemporary party conditions bore fruit in the conclusions that are here presented.

Irregularity was defined as opposition on the part of a Senator to his party organization.<sup>2</sup> The purposes of this study were to ascertain for the period what Senators acted irregularly, when their defection began, when it ceased, how consistently it appeared, what its causes were; and, from such data, to estimate the strength of the party machine in the Senate, to determine the relation of the irregular Senators to the movements of party revolt outside of Congress, and to evaluate the influence of the dissident in shaping the course of the party of which he was nominally a member.

Much material regarding the course of individual Senators is to be found in easily accessible printed sources. To make the study as exhaustive as possible, however, it was thought necessary to examine every one of the 6,950 yea and nay votes cast in the Senate during these years. To clarify the results of this analysis, an elaborate method of charting these votes was employed.<sup>3</sup> With a graphic representation of the irregular

---

<sup>1</sup>E.g., F. E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War* (Iowa City, 1916); S. J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade* (New Haven, 1920); F. L. McVey, *The Populist Movement* (New York, 1896).

<sup>2</sup>Party affiliation was determined by reference to the following sources: *The Congressional Directory* for the 41st to the 56th congresses; *A Biographical Congressional Directory, 1774-1903*; the *Tribune Almanac, 1869-1901*; and Edward McPherson, *Handbook of Politics, 1868-1894*. In the absence of information in these sources, the actual voting of a Senator was accepted as final evidence of his party allegiance.

<sup>3</sup>The method used in this study was determined in some particulars by A. L. Lowell, "The Influence of Party Upon Legislation in England and America," in *Amer. Hist. Assn. Annual Report, 1901*, vol. I, p. 323.

voting of every Congress during these years available, it was possible to determine who the dissentients were, the precise period during which they acted against their party, on what measures they registered opposition, and how many irregular votes they cast.

Five of the recusant seven Republican Senators who had voted to acquit President Johnson of impeachment charges appeared in the Forty-first Congress (March 4, 1869–March 3, 1871), which convened at the opening of Grant's first administration. They were Fessenden, of Maine; Grimes, of Iowa; Ross, of Kansas; Fowler, of Tennessee, and Trumbull, of Illinois. Fessenden died early in this, the Forty-first Congress, before he had voted enough times to indicate whether or not he had returned to the party fold. Grimes, of Iowa, who resigned in disgust at the opening of the second session of the Forty-first Congress; Ross, of Kansas, and Fowler, of Tennessee, who were driven into retirement at the close of the Forty-first Congress; and Trumbull, of Illinois, who served throughout the Forty-second Congress (March 4, 1871–March 3, 1873), all showed to the end of their terms by their votes, if not by speeches and letters, the irregularity that they had conspicuously evidenced at the time of the Johnson trial. Norton, of Minnesota, should properly be classed with the recusant seven, for he was a Republican Senator who had voted to acquit Johnson. But he had not been so severely condemned as the others because his action, by reason of his well-known sympathy with the Johnson program, had been expected.<sup>4</sup> Although Norton died before the Forty-first Congress adjourned, he served long enough in it to reveal a marked irregularity. That the way of the party dissentient is hard is indicated by the fact that none of the seven was reelected to the Senate.

Despite the most favorable prospects for party harmony, Grant early antagonized several of the most prominent Republican leaders in the Senate, most conspicuous among whom was Sumner, of Massachusetts.<sup>5</sup> Grant's blundering came at a particularly inopportune time, for the Senate, having enjoyed the

---

<sup>4</sup>D. M. De Witt, *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* (New York, 1903), 23, 63.

<sup>5</sup>Grant chose his Cabinet without consulting the party leaders, and undiplomatically requested Congress to remove the disabilities of his choice for Secretary of the Treasury. For the latter incident, see *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 21, 61.

exercise of unwonted power during the Johnson regime, was inclined strongly to resent executive interference.

Excepting the cases of the recusants already noted, there was no important irregularity during the first two sessions of the Forty-first Congress. As the charted votes graphically show, the latent hostility of the Senate toward Grant manifested itself conspicuously for the first time in the third session (December 5, 1870-March 3, 1871) of the Forty-first Congress, when voting occurred on measures relating to Grant's proposal to annex Santo Domingo. The irregularity of the treaty negotiation, the exercise of executive pressure, the development of personal misunderstanding, and an opposition on principle to tropical annexations led a number of Senators to vote against this scheme. The most conspicuous of these dissentients were Sumner, of Massachusetts; Schurz, of Missouri; Tipton, of Nebraska, and Trumbull, of Illinois. These four, it will be further noted, formed the nucleus of the Liberal Republican group in the Senate.

The breach between Grant and Sumner widened in the succeeding, the Forty-second, Congress (March 4, 1871-March 3, 1873).<sup>6</sup> The Massachusetts Senator continued his violent opposition to the Santo Domingo scheme, despite the fact that all hope of its succeeding had disappeared, and, supported by Schurz, of Missouri, launched a bitter attack against the administration because of the alleged sale of United States arms to the French Government.<sup>7</sup> All this time Sumner was emphatic in declaring that he, and not Grant, was upholding Republican principles. As the voting and other evidence show, Sumner became partially reconciled to the administration shortly before his death early in the Forty-third Congress, although he was never received back into the party fold on the old basis.

Schurz, of Missouri, another member of the Liberal group in the Senate, was the outstanding dissentient of the Grant period. Drawn into the Liberal Republican movement in Missouri, he early incurred the displeasure of the President.<sup>8</sup> Shortly there-

---

<sup>6</sup>Grant was instrumental in having Sumner removed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

<sup>7</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., p. 953ff.

<sup>8</sup>See *New York Nation*, October 6, 1870; October 13, 1870; October 20, 1870; November 17, 1870; Frederic Bancroft (ed.), *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1913), I, 520-521. (Hereafter, *Schurz, Writings*.)

after (December, 1870) the Santo Domingo project came before Congress, and, opposed to tropical annexations on principle and antagonized by the methods of the administration, Schurz started on a path of irregular voting from which he never deviated during the remainder of his term, which expired in March, 1875. Having delivered several able speeches against the Santo Domingo scheme, the Missouri Senator bore the brunt of the debate involved in the French arms investigation, during the course of which he referred to the anti-administration "senatorial cabal" in the Senate.<sup>9</sup> Although half-heartedly supporting Greeley in 1872, Schurz did not go over to the Democratic camp. The Democrats offered him, however, a place on the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which he accepted with the understanding that he was thereby obligated to neither party.<sup>10</sup> His continued irregular course in the next, the Forty-third, Congress, will be noted later.

Trumbull, of Illinois, already considered as one of the recalcitrant seven, established an outstandingly dissentient record during the first and second sessions of the Forty-first Congress. In the third session he sided with the anti-administration Senators in opposing the Santo Domingo scheme, and thereafter his free-lance activities were joined with those of the Liberal group. After the election of 1872 he returned to the Senate, continued his irregularity, and retired when his term expired at the close of the Forty-second Congress.

Tipton, of Nebraska, was another Republican Senator whose irregularity dates from the voting on the Santo Domingo project. This tendency to disregard party ties he continued over into the Forty-second Congress, in which he proved himself to be one of the outstanding dissentients of this period. Factional politics in Nebraska, as well as personal opposition to the Grant regime, had much to do with determining his course.<sup>11</sup> A thoroughgoing irregular by the time the national Liberal Republican movement was under way, he was counted upon by the leaders of the reforming group to swing the State of Nebraska for the Liberals.<sup>12</sup> Faced with ostracism at the hands of the Republicans for his course during the campaign, Tipton attended the Democratic caucus at the opening of the third session of the Forty-second

<sup>9</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess. (appendix), p. 67.

<sup>10</sup>E. D. Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (New York, 1919), 194.

<sup>11</sup>Ross, *op. cit.*, 22.

<sup>12</sup>*Nation*, October 10, 1872.

Congress and expressed his intention of acting with that party in the future.<sup>13</sup> His continued irregular voting will be considered in the discussion of the Forty-third, his last, Congress.

Aside from Sumner, Schurz, Trumbull, and Tipton, who were reformers by nature, attention should be directed to the less important members of the Liberal group in the Senate. They were Fenton, of New York; Sprague, of Rhode Island; Hamilton, of Texas; Rice, of Arkansas; West, of Louisiana; Hill, of Georgia; and Ferry, of Connecticut.

Fenton, of New York, voted as a regular during the Forty-first Congress, but throughout the Forty-second Congress he followed a markedly dissentient course. The source of his defection can be traced to factional differences in New York State, where, in a desperate fight between Conkling and Fenton for Grant's favor, the former had gained the ascendancy.<sup>14</sup> To Fenton, who was no more a reformer than Conkling, the Liberal Republican movement appeared to offer an excellent opportunity to seek vengeance. After Greeley's overwhelming defeat, Fenton returned to the Senate and continued his irregular voting, refusing to join with either the Republicans or the Democrats. His consistently irregular course in the next, the Forty-third, Congress will be mentioned in another connection.

Sprague, of Rhode Island, manifested signs of defection from the first session of the Forty-first Congress. In the second session of the Forty-second Congress he established an outstanding record of irregularity. But in the third session, when the defeat of Greeley weighed heavily upon the Liberal Republicans, Sprague showed a slackening in his tendency to disregard party ties. His motives are not easy to explain. It is thought that he may have been offended by certain testimony presented by Butler's report as to the propriety with which the Senators had comported themselves during the Johnson trial.<sup>15</sup> It is also well to bear in mind that he, a millionaire manufacturer, held some unusual views on financial matters. On March 25, 1869, during

<sup>13</sup>See Ross, *op. cit.*, 193.

<sup>14</sup>*Nation*, September 15, 1870; A. R. Conkling, *The Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling* (New York, 1889), 338-344.

<sup>15</sup>See *House Committee Report*, 75, 40 Cong., 2 sess. Sprague's wife, the daughter of Salmon P. Chase, who had been practically read out of the party by the Republican leaders, may have had some influence on him. E. P. Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (New York, 1922), II, 125, 167-169.

the early days of the Forty-first Congress, he delivered a speech on the pending currency bill,<sup>16</sup> which created so great a stir as to start the rumor that he had gone over to the Democrats.<sup>17</sup> The *Nation* interpreted his unusual statements as an intention on his part to establish a workingman's party.<sup>18</sup> At any rate, although not a prominent figure in the Liberal Republican movement, Sprague must be classed with the anti-administration group during the greater part of the Forty-first and Forty-second Congresses. His later irregular record will be considered in another place.

In view of his prominence as a staunch Republican in the reconstruction of Texas,<sup>19</sup> Hamilton was expected to fall in with Grant's policies. This he did during the Forty-first Congress, but late in March, 1871, he suddenly abandoned his regular course and joined the Liberal group. He continued as a dissident, as will be pointed out, in the Forty-third Congress.

Rice, of Arkansas, maintained a regular course through the Forty-first Congress, as well as during the first session of the Forty-second Congress. He evidenced a slight defection in the second session of that Congress, and during the third session he associated himself with the Liberal group as an outstanding dissident. Inasmuch as he left the Senate at the close of this Congress, nothing further need be said regarding his record.

The inclusion of West, of Louisiana, in the Liberal Republican group is questionable.<sup>20</sup> Entering the Senate in the first session of the Forty-second Congress, he revealed a slightly noticeable tendency to vote against the party organization in the second session, but in the third session his dissident votes were relatively few. In the Forty-third Congress his regularity was unimpeachable.

On the basis of dissident voting, Hill, of Georgia, has a more valid claim to inclusion in the Liberal group than several who are identified with it.<sup>21</sup> He took his seat in the third session of the Forty-first Congress, and straightway began to disregard

---

<sup>16</sup>*Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 1 sess., p. 298ff.

<sup>17</sup>*Nation*, April 1, 1869.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, May 20, 1869. See also *ibid.*, April 8, 1869; April 15, 1869; April 22, 1869.

<sup>19</sup>C. W. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (New York, 1910), 200, 261, 270.

<sup>20</sup>Ross includes him. Ross, *op. cit.*, 193 n.

<sup>21</sup>Ross does not include Hill with the Liberals.

party ties. His course during the Forty-second Congress, his last, was outstandingly irregular.

Particular interest attaches to Ferry, of Connecticut, a Republican. Throughout the Forty-first Congress and the first session of the Forty-second Congress his regularity was almost without blemish. But the large number of irregular votes that he cast in the second session of the Forty-second Congress indicates that he was being influenced by the Liberal Republican movement. This situation is explainable to some extent by the events of the senatorial election in Connecticut, where the Democrats and the Liberal Republicans had joined forces to reelect Ferry.<sup>22</sup> Despite his indebtedness to the Liberals, Ferry declared his unswerving loyalty to the Republican movement and ridiculed the Greeley movement as a "mere midsummer madness."<sup>23</sup> But in view of the large number of irregular votes that he cast during the second and third sessions of the Forty-second Congress, he was not nearly so faithful a party man as his protestations would indicate. Whatever influences may have been brought to bear to induce him to set out on this course, he returned to the Republican fold at the beginning of the next, the Forty-third, Congress, and maintained an outstanding record as a party man.

The temporary defection of Patterson, of New Hampshire, a Republican, requires a word of explanation. Although voting regularly in open session of the Senate during the first and second sessions of the Forty-first Congress, Patterson was opposed to the treaty for the annexation of Santo Domingo. Grant, therefore, made an unsuccessful attempt to remove him from the Committee on Foreign Relations. Whether on principle or pique, Patterson opposed the annexation scheme in the next, the third, session of the Forty-first Congress. Thereafter his voting was regular.

Logan, of Illinois, was another Republican considered at one time to have been a supporter of the coterie of Senate Liberals.<sup>24</sup> In fact, he was included in caricatures of that group by the unsparing Thomas Nast.<sup>25</sup> But the evidence of the voting scarcely justifies his being classed as a Liberal Republican. In the first session of the Forty-second Congress, his first, he

<sup>22</sup>*Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 222; *Nation*, May 16, 1872, May 23, 1872.

<sup>23</sup>Ross, *op. cit.*, 110.

<sup>24</sup>A. B. Paine, *Th. Nast* (New York, 1904), 208.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 231.

showed a slight tendency to act against the party; in the next session he voted irregularly porportionately fewer times; and in the third session his record was quite regular. Before the Liberal Republican convention met, he had lost whatever sympathy for the movement he may have had, and Nast by this time left him out of his cartoons entirely, or put him dimly in the background, sometimes showing him with his back turned to his former associates.<sup>26</sup>

Of immediate interest in a discussion of the Forty-third Congress (December 1, 1873–March 3, 1875), the first of Grant's second administration, is the course of the remaining Liberal Republican Senators. They were Sprague, of Rhode Island; Fenton, of New York; Hamilton, of Texas; Tipton, of Nebraska; and Schurz, of Missouri.<sup>27</sup> Hamilton was the only member of the group who remained in the following, the Forty-fourth, Congress.

Sprague, of Rhode Island, continued his outstandingly irregular course to the very end of the Forty-third Congress. Likewise, Fenton, of New York, showed no inclination to resume his former party allegiance. In the first session of the Forty-third Congress, Hamilton, of Texas, revealed a greater tendency to return to the fold than any other of the five Liberals here considered. In the second session, however, his record left no doubts as to his independent attitude. Tipton, of Nebraska, also continued his irregular voting to the close of the Forty-third Congress. It was Schurz, of Missouri, however, the most important member of the group, who established the outstanding record of dissentient voting in the Forty-third Congress. The bitter opposition of the administration Senators toward him was frequently revealed in vigorous interchanges, in which the Missouri Senator was abundantly able to hold his own.<sup>28</sup> During the months between the close of the first session and the opening of the second session of the Forty-third Congress, he became actively engaged in sponsoring what was known as the People's Party of Missouri, an organization not contemplating a national movement but rather the ejection of partisan government from Missouri politics.<sup>29</sup> Apparently this development had little or no

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>Although Sumner appeared early in this Congress, his part in it, owing to his ill health and death, was negligible.

<sup>28</sup>See *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1775, 3763.

<sup>29</sup>*Nation*, September 17, 1874.

relation to Schurz's only nominal connection with the Republican organization. Excluded from party councils, and more or less tolerated by his associates in debate, Schurz neither went over to the Democrats nor returned to the Republican fold. After his term expired, at the close of the Forty-third Congress (March 3, 1875), he continued to be an outstanding independent in American public life until the time of his death.

With the exception of Hamilton, of Texas, the sole survivor of the Liberal group, there was no outstanding irregular in the Forty-fourth Congress (December 6, 1875-March 3, 1877). Although he had revealed some inclination to return to the party fold in the Forty-third Congress, Hamilton maintained a dissentient course throughout the special and first sessions of the Forty-fourth Congress, but in the second session, the last of his term, his voting became quite regular. His return to the Republican ranks marks the disappearance of the Liberal group in the Senate.

An unusual type of irregularity developed during the Hayes administration. Throughout the Grant period the President and the Senate machine had been heartily in accord. Accordingly, those Republican Senators who had broken with the machine to oppose Grant's program were irregulars. In the Hayes administration, on the other hand, the President and the machine were openly hostile. Since the machine represented the Republican organization in the Senate, those Senators who broke with the machine to support the President were irregulars; those who supported the machine to oppose the President were regulars.

One other feature of the irregularity of Hayes' term differs noticeably from that of the Grant administrations. During the latter period party dissent had been revealed by votes cast in open session of the Senate. In the Hayes administration, on the other hand, only a few men who occasionally voted irregularly could be detected in this way. Executive appointments, fought over in secret session, were the storm centers of this period.

The reasons for the hostility of the Senate organization to the administration of Hayes are too numerous and complicated to warrant detailed consideration. The source of the trouble lay in the President's unwillingness to be dictated to by individual Senators in the matter of appointments. The machine opposition to Hayes came to a head on two separate occasions during the Forty-fifth Congress (October 15, 1877-March 3, 1879), the first of this administration.

When the names of Hayes' Cabinet, which had been chosen without deference to the party leaders, were sent to the Senate for confirmation, strong opposition developed. Public opinion was so squarely behind the President, however, that the machine Senators were forced to give in after a bitter struggle. More prolonged and significant was the fight that developed when Hayes, in defiance of senatorial courtesy, attempted to reform the New York customhouse by removing Conkling's henchmen. After initial reverses, the President finally won the victory because he was supported by several Republican Senators who refused in this instance to follow machine dictation. Among those high in Republican councils who upheld Hayes in this struggle were Edmunds, of Vermont; Hoar, of Massachusetts; Morrill, of Vermont; Matthews, of Ohio; and Dawes, of Massachusetts.<sup>80</sup> The first three named, as will be shown from time to time, though for the most part staunch Republicans, revealed on occasion a marked independence of mind. The others did not again disregard party lines on any important occasion.

During the first session of the Forty-fifth Congress, two Southern Republicans, Conover, of Florida, and Patterson, of South Carolina, evidenced highly important irregularity in the voting to accept the credentials of Butler, of South Carolina, a Democrat, and Kellogg, of Louisiana, a Republican. Neither of these dissentient Senators had deviated noticeably from the party path in the preceding Congresses, and their course at this time was entirely unexpected. The Republicans still controlled the Senate by a narrow majority, but the Democrats awaited their opportunity; and when several of the Republicans were absent and Conover, of Florida, and Patterson, of South Carolina, as well as the Independent, Davis, of Illinois, revealed their sympathy with Butler's cause, the issue was forced, and the Democrats emerged the victors. It was the first time since the Civil War that the Democrats were able on successive occasions to vote down the Republican majority.

In this instance Patterson's personal convictions were stronger than his allegiance to the Republican organization.<sup>81</sup> In view of the fact that never before or after did he evidence any noticeable irregularity, his case may be dismissed. Although quite regular before this time, Conover, of Florida, continued a rather

---

<sup>80</sup>C. R. Williams (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Boston, 1914), III, 613. (Hereafter, Hayes, *Diary*.)

<sup>81</sup>*Cong. Record*, 45 Cong., 1 sess., p. 774ff.

marked tendency toward dissentient voting in the remaining two sessions of the Forty-fifth Congress. Like Patterson, he acted as he did because he was convinced that Butler was legally entitled to his seat in the Senate.<sup>32</sup> In view of the evidence, it would appear that Conover was a man of independent judgment, and that the pressure brought to bear upon him on this occasion probably had some influence in causing him to vote against the Republican organization to the end of this, his last, Congress.

During the Forty-sixth Congress (March 18, 1879-March 3, 1881), the second of his administration, Hayes was faced with Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress. Evidences of tension between him and the Republican leaders cropped out now and then,<sup>33</sup> but by this time the President had definitely established the right to exercise his prerogatives.

The story of the struggle between Garfield and Conkling over the New York patronage is too familiar to require detailed consideration. In this instance there was involved irregularity of a most important type, but differing markedly from that of the Hayes administration. In the case under consideration, a small faction within the Republican Senate machine opposed the President at a time when the majority of the members of that machine were in sympathy with him. The matter was brought to a head in the special session of the Senate of the Forty-seventh Congress (December 5, 1881-March 3, 1883), when Garfield appointed W. H. Robertson, a bitter political enemy of Conkling, to the most lucrative Federal office in the State of New York. Conkling tried to enlist the support of the Republican organization in his war on the President, but the machine, although secretly wishing to safeguard senatorial prerogatives,<sup>34</sup> was unwilling to support Conkling, who, followed by Platt, acknowledged defeat by resignation.

Garfield died before the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress convened. Except for a special session of the Senate, Arthur served as President during the entire Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth congresses (December 5, 1881-March 3, 1885). In the regular sessions of the former Congress only one dissentient appeared, Van Wyck, of Nebraska, a Republican, and even his defection was not outstanding. It should be noted, moreover,

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 643-644.

<sup>33</sup>See Hayes, *Diary*, III, 585-586.

<sup>34</sup>T. C. Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield* (New Haven, 1925), II, 1118.

that most of his irregular votes were cast on the tariff bill. In view of the fact that he later became a Populist and ran for the governorship of Nebraska on that ticket,<sup>35</sup> the beginning of his revolt against the party is particularly worthy of note. His ideas on finance, which later led him to desert the Republican ranks altogether, were so radical as to earn for him the title of "buffoon of the Senate."<sup>36</sup> In the Forty-eighth Congress, the second of Arthur's administration, there was no outstanding irregularity in the Senate, owing probably to the quieting of political bickering by the shock of Garfield's death.

The training and personality of Grover Cleveland were not such as to enable him easily to establish harmonious relations with the leaders of his party in Congress. Still, even with the Senate in the hands of the Republicans, his first administration did not produce any serious rupture within the Democratic organization. Although some discontent appeared among the Democratic Senators over his civil service reform program, no defection of any consequence occurred in the Forty-ninth Congress (December 7, 1885–March 3, 1887), the first of Cleveland's first administration. In the Fiftieth Congress (December 5, 1887–March 3, 1889), however, there appeared two Senators, Payne, of Ohio, and Brown, of Georgia, both Democrats, whose irregularity was noteworthy. They were, in fact, the first outstanding dissentients to be encountered for a period of three Congresses.

From time to time Brown had showed a slight tendency to act against the party. But in this Congress, the Fiftieth, his defection became conspicuous. Aside from a characteristic independence of mind already noted, his course at this time may be almost solely ascribed to his differing with the majority of the Democratic party on the tariff issue, which was then before Congress.<sup>37</sup> Payne, of Ohio, was another Democrat whose attitude toward the tariff was unacceptable to the majority of his party. Heavily interested in the steel industry, he opposed the move to reduce duties on structural iron and other commodities.<sup>38</sup> As will be noted, he was to appear again as an irregular during the Harrison administration.

---

<sup>35</sup>*Biographical Congressional Directory*, 1774–1903, p. 856.

<sup>36</sup>*Nation*, January 28, 1886.

<sup>37</sup>*Cong. Record*, 50 Cong., 2 sess., p. 627ff.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 67.

Two other less important dissentient Democrats, McPherson, of New Jersey, and Gorman, of Maryland, were to be found in the Fiftieth Congress. Gorman had already indicated from time to time a slight defection, but his action against the party in this Congress, as well as that of McPherson, distinctly foreshadowed his course at the time of the Wilson-Gorman tariff controversy. Although at the time less important, it would appear that the position of these two men was more significant than that of Payne and Brown, in that it indicated the beginnings of the Democratic split of Cleveland's second administration.

No Congress during this period developed more significant irregularity than the Fifty-first (December 2, 1889-March 3, 1891), the first of Harrison's administration. Except for a brief period of defection on the part of Payne, of Ohio, there was no party dissent worthy of note in the first session of this Congress until July, 1890, when the McKinley Tariff Bill appeared before the Senate. From that time to the end of the session practically all of the irregular votes cast were concerned with this measure.

Beginning with the first adverse Republican votes on the McKinley Bill, late in July, 1890, Plumb, of Kansas; Paddock, of Nebraska, and to a lesser degree Ingalls, of Kansas, maintained a consistently dissentient course in opposition to this measure. Pettigrew, of South Dakota, probably would have appeared as an irregular with Plumb and Paddock had he not been absent during most of the time when the tariff bill was being considered. It is important to note that he voted with these two Senators in opposition to the conference report on the same measure. Manderson, of Nebraska, another middle western Senator, cast several important votes against the bill, as did Edmunds, of Vermont. Everywhere throughout the country the significance of this party revolt was coming to be recognized. Republican conventions and the Republican press, particularly in the agrarian districts of the Middle West, were actually giving encouragement to the Republican Senators who were allying themselves with the Democrats to vote against the various schedules of the McKinley Bill.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, so bitter was the feeling among the eastern political leaders at the action of these middle western Senators that there was considerable talk of reading them out of the party.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup>*Nation*, August 7, 1890; August 14, 1890.

<sup>40</sup>See W. E. Connelley, *The Life of Preston B. Plumb* (Chicago, 1913), 325; A. W. Dunn, *From Harrison to Harding* (New York, 1922), I, 64-65.

Following the stormy first session of the Fifty-first Congress, in which the McKinley Bill was passed, came the second session, in which the Force Bill was shelved. During the consideration of this latter measure extremely significant irregularity developed. Two decisive votes were taken on the bill in the Senate, one temporarily laying it aside on January 5, 1891, and the other permanently shelving it on January 22, 1891. Inasmuch as the first decision came as the result of a motion that the Senate Proceed to a consideration of a free silver bill, a mixture of motives appeared in the voting. On one or both of these two divisions the following Republicans voted against the party organization: Stewart, of Nevada; Teller, of Colorado; Jones, of Nevada; Wolcott, of Colorado; McConnell, of Idaho; Shoup, of Idaho; Stanford, of California;<sup>41</sup> Cameron, of Pennsylvania;<sup>42</sup> and Washburn, of Minnesota. The first six named were silver sympathizers, and except McConnell and Shoup, of Idaho, both of whom voted in favor of the Force Bill when it was permanently shelved, appear also to have been opposed on principle to the Force Bill. The remaining three were not silver men, but objected to the measure on the grounds of expediency. Washburn and Stanford never before or after showed conspicuous irregularity, and Cameron only on one other occasion. It is also important to note that the defection of the silver Senators, Stewart, Teller, Jones, and Wolcott, is here to be seen for the first time.

Plumb, of Kansas, the most consistent dissident of the Fifty-first Congress, died early in the following Congress. Even before his election to the Senate he had revealed independent judgment in his support of Greeley.<sup>43</sup> Ignoring the tradition of novitiate silence, he early plunged into the Senate debates, frequently standing alone.<sup>44</sup> His irregularity was most marked on matters relating to currency, in the discussion of which he reflected the prevailing financial ideas of the western farmer and miner. Absent during the important decisions on the Force Bill, he did not oppose this measure by his votes, although he was paired in

---

<sup>41</sup>See G. R. Brown (ed.), *Reminiscences of Senator William M. Stewart, of Nevada* (New York, 1908), 307. (Hereafter, Stewart, *Reminiscences*.)

<sup>42</sup>*Nation*, January 15, 1891; A. K. McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them* (New York, 1909), 339-340.

<sup>43</sup>Connelley, *Plumb*, 224.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 234; *Cong. Record.*, 45 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1688.

favor of it when it was shelved.<sup>45</sup> His most conspicuous defection occurred during the McKinley Bill voting, during which time he showed himself to be as pronounced an irregular as appears in this study. Although a dissident at intervals during his entire senatorial career, Plumb may be considered a thoroughgoing irregular only during the Fifty-first Congress.

The close of the Fifty-first Congress marked the end of the senatorial service of Edmunds, of Vermont, a Republican. Never an out-and-out irregular, he was, however, a man of sufficiently independent judgment to vote against his party on a number of occasions. Not only was he independently minded but, according to many observers, he was negatively minded.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, although deviating from the party path for a short time on various occasions, for the largest part of his senatorial career he proved himself to be one of the staunchest Republican leaders in Congress.

In contrast with the Fifty-first Congress, the Fifty-second Congress (December 7, 1891-March 3, 1893), the second of Harrison's administration, was one of the quietest, from the standpoint of irregularity, to be found in this period. Of the many Senators who have been mentioned as party dissidents in the preceding Congresses, not one indicated more than a slightly noticeable tendency to party defection.

Between the first and second sessions of the Fifty-second Congress, Stewart, of Nevada, left the ranks of the Republican Party completely. The immediate cause for his desertion was the nomination of Harrison by the Republicans and the pronouncement of their platform on the silver question.<sup>47</sup> Having forsaken the organization, Stewart threw his support to Weaver in the ensuing campaign and helped to carry Nevada for the Populists.<sup>48</sup> As a result of his previously indicated disregard of party lines, this defection was not wholly unexpected, but because of the narrowness of the majority of the Republican Party in the Senate, it was of great importance. When Stewart returned in December, 1892, for the second session of the Fifty-second Congress, he was

<sup>45</sup>*Cong. Record*, 51 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1740.

<sup>46</sup>See *Nation*, June 19, 1890; G. F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (New York, 1903), I, 387-388; A. D. White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (New York, 1914), I, 202.

<sup>47</sup>*Nation*, September 29, 1892; Stewart, *Reminiscences*, 318-319.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*

considered by some a Populist,<sup>49</sup> although he was still listed in the *Congressional Directory* as a Republican.

In view of the reasonably satisfactory relations between Cleveland and the Republican Senate during his first administration, much was expected at the opening of his second term, when the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress. But predictions of this nature proved to be generally false. The first conspicuous irregular to appear during Cleveland's second administration was Morgan, of Alabama, a Democrat. Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, an imperialist, and an annexationist, he became bitterly antagonized by Cleveland's Hawaiian policy.<sup>50</sup> Although his opposition seldom appeared in votes cast in open session of the Senate, nevertheless it was deep-seated and bitter. In addition, as a silver Democrat, he later came to disagree violently with the President's financial policy.<sup>51</sup>

The Fifty-third Congress (August 7, 1893–March 3, 1895), the first of Cleveland's second administration, was convened in extraordinary session to consider the repeal of the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Act. Since party lines disappeared in the voting on this measure, it would be impossible to determine with accuracy who the irregulars were. Nevertheless, the silver sympathies of such Democrats as Pugh, of Alabama, and Morgan, of Alabama, were clearly indicated, as were those of the following Republicans, several of whom have been mentioned before as silver Senators: Jones, of Nevada; Dubois, of Idaho; Perkins, of California; Pettigrew, of South Dakota; Power of Montana; Shoup of Idaho; Teller, of Colorado; and Wolcott, of Colorado. In the midst of the fight against the repeal, it was widely rumored that Jones, of Nevada, had left the ranks of the Republican Party; that Dubois, of Idaho, intended to follow if the Republican national convention did not declare for a sixteen-to-one standard; and that the latter had predicted that if the party did not meet the demands of the silver element by 1896, Teller and several others of the silver Senators would desert the Republican party completely.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, January 26, 1893.

<sup>50</sup>Matilda Gresham, *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham* (Chicago, 1919), II, 759, 765.

<sup>51</sup>*Nation*, November 2, 1893.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, September 13, 1894.

Shortly before the Wilson Tariff Bill came before the Senate, Cleveland clashed with Hill, of New York, a Democrat, on a question of senatorial courtesy.<sup>53</sup> The roots of this Senator's defection, which was to become of great importance during the tariff bill debates, go back to an earlier date. If tension did not occur when Hill, running for the governorship of New York on the Democratic ticket in 1888, was elected at the same time Cleveland was defeated for the presidency,<sup>54</sup> it was quite noticeable when Hill's opposition to the nomination of Cleveland for the presidency in 1892 became unpleasantly pronounced.<sup>55</sup>

During the actual voting on the schedules of the Wilson-Gorman Bill, Hill was the only Democrat who registered a sufficiently large number of dissentient votes to be classed as a thoroughgoing irregular.<sup>56</sup> Aside from his personal hostility to Cleveland, his opposition to the measure was caused by his favoring free raw materials and by his vigorous attacks on the income tax clause.<sup>57</sup> So consistent was his dissent on the tariff voting that his Democratic associates dropped him from the last party caucuses on the Wilson-Gorman Bill.<sup>58</sup>

In reviewing the tariff struggle it may safely be said that if the President had encountered no more serious defection than Hill's, he probably would have been able to carry through his program. But a coterie of Democratic Senators, consisting of Gorman, of Maryland; Murphy, of New York; Smith, of New Jersey; Brice, of Ohio; and Jones, of Arkansas, was chiefly responsible for the mutilation of the bill. Gorman, of Maryland, was the leader of these Senators, and he was chiefly responsible for many of the protectionist schedules of the measure. In addition to a growing antagonism to the policies of Cleveland,<sup>59</sup> he

---

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, April 11, 1895; Dunn, *op. cit.*, I, 136; Robert McElroy, *Grover Cleveland* (New York, 1923), II, 130ff.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 281ff; D. A. S. Alexander, *Four Famous New Yorkers* (New York, 1923), 130.

<sup>55</sup>*Nation*, February 25, 1892; Alexander, *op. cit.*, 166ff.

<sup>56</sup>He was the only Democrat voting against the bill on its passage. *Cong. Record*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., p. 7136.

<sup>57</sup>*Nation*, May 10, 1894; April 11, 1895; May 30, 1895; Dunn, *op. cit.*, I, 133, 137; Champ Clark, *My Quarter Century of American Politics* (New York, 1920), I, 334-336; S. M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (Chicago, 1911), 265.

<sup>58</sup>*Nation*, October 4, 1894.

<sup>59</sup>*Cong. Record*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., p. 7807ff.

was personally interested in securing protection for the industries of his constituents. The same may be said of the other members of the group.<sup>60</sup> In the case of Murphy, of New York, personal hostility to Cleveland probably was an additional factor, for when the Hill machine had proposed Murphy as a candidate for the Senate, Cleveland had publicly protested against the election of a man of his caliber.<sup>61</sup>

Unable to witness in silence the mutilation of the tariff bill, Cleveland at last expressed his displeasure with the conduct of the Senate irregulars in his famous "party perfidy and party dishonor" letter.<sup>62</sup> Gorman, of Maryland, who by inference was indicated as one of those most blamable, vigorously replied to Cleveland on the floor of the Senate, as did Vest, of Missouri, and Jones, of Arkansas.<sup>63</sup> In the end, Cleveland permitted the bill to become a law without his signature.

Although divergent interests were making his position more and more difficult, Cleveland was undeniably the leader of his party at the time of the tariff struggle. Elected by a substantial majority on a platform that had promised downward revision of the tariff, he had received the indorsement of his party. The great majority of the Democrats in Congress were heartily in favor of a lower tariff; hence it will be noted that the President and the body of his party in the Senate were one on this issue. Furthermore, Gorman and his following were not, as it is sometimes supposed, the Senate machine. The machine supported Cleveland; hence the dissentient coterie was composed of irregulars. Although not controlling the machine, these Senators could enforce their will because of the narrowness of the Democratic majority. By merely threatening to vote with the Republicans and to defeat the bill entirely, they were able to secure the amendments for which they were working.<sup>64</sup>

From the standpoint of Senate irregularity, the remainder of Cleveland's term was comparatively tranquil, although there appeared some hangovers of the hostility of Hill, of New York, and Morgan, of Alabama. During the Fifty-fourth Congress (December 2, 1895-March 2, 1897), the second of this administration, considerable dissatisfaction was voiced by the Demo-

<sup>60</sup>Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 336; Dunn, *op. cit.*, I, 133.

<sup>61</sup>*Nation*, January 5, 1893; January 19, 1893; Alexander, *op. cit.*, 194ff.

<sup>62</sup>*Cong. Record*, 53 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 7712-7713.

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, 7801ff; *Nation*, July 26, 1894.

<sup>64</sup>McElroy, *op. cit.*, II, 108ff.

cratic majority in the Senate with Cleveland's policy of strict neutrality toward the Cuban revolt. Call, of Florida, and Morgan, of Alabama, both Democrats, were greatly angered by the President's inaction.<sup>65</sup> In fact, a small body of Democrats in the Senate made a determined, though unsuccessful, attempt to force the President's hand.<sup>66</sup> It is important to note that although the Democrats as a body opposed the President's Cuban policy, no manifestation of this disagreement, largely because of differences of opinion as to procedure, was evidenced in the voting of this Congress.

At the Republican national convention of 1896, held between the first and second sessions of the Fifty-fourth Congress, a number of the silver delegates, led by Teller, of Colorado, bolted the party. In addition to Teller, there were three other United States Senators in the group, Dubois, of Idaho; Cannon, of Utah, and Pettigrew, of South Dakota.<sup>67</sup> Teller and his associates met at St. Louis on July 22, 1896, and organized the National Silver Party, indorsing Bryan and Sewall. Two more Republican Senators, Jones, of Nevada, and Stewart, of Nevada, had by this time joined Teller, and they took a prominent part in the convention.<sup>68</sup> Owing to the fact that there were practically no votes in the second session of the Fifty-fourth Congress over which party lines were tightly drawn, it is impossible to determine the attitude of these bolting Senators toward the party upon their return to the Senate. The *Congressional Directory* for this session lists them as Republicans, but in the following Congress, the Fifty-fifth, they appear, together with others, as Silver Republicans.

When the Fifty-fifth Congress (March 15, 1897-March 3, 1899), the first of McKinley's administration, convened, six Silver Republicans were to be found in the Senate. Although considered members of a third party, they continued, except in the voting on currency measures, to act with the Republican majority. In the first session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, Jones, of Nevada, and Stewart, of Nevada, voted so consistently with their former party associates that it is impossible to distinguish them from regular Republicans. During this session, Cannon,

<sup>65</sup>*Cong. Record*, 54 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1967ff.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, 18978; McElroy, *op. cit.*, II, 247ff.

<sup>67</sup>*New York Times*, June 19, 1896.

<sup>68</sup>W. J. Bryan, *The First Battle* (Chicago, 1896), 238ff.

of Utah, and Teller, of Colorado, were doubtful, or at least occasional irregulars. Pettigrew, of South Dakota, and Mantle, of Montana, were, on the other hand, outstandingly dissentient. During the second session, Pettigrew, of South Dakota, chiefly because of his anti-imperialistic convictions, was the only Silver Republican to cast an outstandingly large number of irregular votes. The other five, save Jones, of Nevada, who was quite regular, may be considered occasional dissentients, none of them casting more irregular than regular votes. In the third session of this Congress party lines were so badly broken over the disposition of the Spanish-American war acquisitions that nothing definite can be said as to irregularity. Morrill, of Vermont, however, conspicuously opposed annexation, reverting to the position that he had held regarding Santo Domingo and St. Thomas.<sup>69</sup> Otherwise, throughout his long senatorial career he was quite regular. It is also to be observed that the beginnings of the anti-imperialistic defection of Hoar, of Massachusetts, a Republican, were noticeable at this time.

In the first session of the Fifty-fifth Congress there appeared only one Democratic irregular, McEnery, of Louisiana, whose record of dissentient voting was outstanding. His defection is attributable to the fact that he lent his support to the Dingley Tariff Bill because that measure gave more favorable concessions to American sugar than the Wilson-Gorman law.<sup>70</sup> It should be noted, however, that McEnery's opposition to the Democratic minority was confined solely to the tariff, for in the succeeding two sessions and in the following Congress he was strictly regular.

Morgan, of Alabama, was the only outstanding irregular to appear in the second session of the Fifty-fifth Congress. Here again his imperialistic convictions asserted themselves and led him to forsake the majority of his Democratic colleagues on the questions of the acquisition of Hawaii and the retention of the Philippines.<sup>71</sup>

During the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress (December 4, 1899–March 4, 1901) two irregulars appeared in the ranks of the Democrats, Caffrey, of Louisiana, and Lindsay, of Kentucky, the defection of both of whom being caused by their

<sup>69</sup>*Nation*, January 5, 1899; Hoar, *op. cit.*, II, 307; W. B. Parker, *The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill* (Boston, 1924), 346-347.

<sup>70</sup>See *Cong. Record*, 55 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1684-1690.

<sup>71</sup>*Nation*, October 4, 1900; Hoar, *op. cit.*, II, 322.

opposition to the free-silver movement. On other matters in the following session of this Congress they voted with the party organization. The only Republican irregular to appear in the first session of this Congress was Wellington, of Maryland, who maintained a conspicuously dissentient course throughout both sessions. His defection was due almost solely to opposition to the imperialistic policy of the Republicans, and his dissent carried him so far as to support Bryan in the campaign of 1900.<sup>72</sup>

The outstanding Republican dissentient of the second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress was Hoar, of Massachusetts, who likewise was opposed to the imperialism of his party. Although for the most part a bitter partisan,<sup>73</sup> he revealed on occasion a pronounced independence of mind.<sup>74</sup> Despite rumors to the contrary, Hoar was emphatic in his determination never to leave the party, and when this question of overseas expansion was disposed of, he became a most staunch regular. Hale, of Maine, a Republican, is sometimes associated with Hoar in opposition to imperialism,<sup>75</sup> and although it is true that in the third session of the preceding Congress, the Fifty-fifth, he did join with Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Pettigrew, of South Dakota, in opposing the treaty,<sup>76</sup> he did not vote against the party organization when such action would make him conspicuous.

Four Silver Republicans remained in the Fifty-sixth Congress. In the first session, Jones, of Nevada; Pettigrew, of South Dakota, and Teller, of Colorado, voted consistently against the Republican group. Stewart, of Nevada, although casting fewer dissentient votes than formerly, showed no indication of returning to the party. In the second session, Teller, of Colorado, and Pettigrew, of South Dakota, were still opposing the Republican organization with the utmost consistency. On the other hand, Jones, of Nevada, had weakened somewhat, casting about as many regular as irregular votes, and Stewart, of Nevada, had returned to the Republican fold upon the disappearance of the silver issue from politics.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup>*Who's Who in America* (1901-1902), p. 1210.

<sup>73</sup>*Nation*, November 10, 1898.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, July 24, 1884; Gresham, *op. cit.*, II, 769; Hoar, *op. cit.*, II, 310.

<sup>75</sup>Cullom, *op. cit.*, 220.

<sup>76</sup>*Boston Evening Transcript*, February 7, 1899.

<sup>77</sup>Stewart, *op. cit.*, 319.

By way of summary it may be said that the vast majority of the votes cast in the Senate during this period were regular. The irregularity of the important dissentient groups falls into three distinct classes. First, there were those Senators who reflected public demand for reform, whether political, as was the case with the Liberal Republican movement, or economic, as was the case with the silver advocates. Second, there were those groups that were opposed to the administration on one issue only, such as imperialism, and who were on all other matters quite regular. Third, there were those who supported the President to oppose the machine, as during Hayes' administration, or who fought the machine to oppose the President, as during Cleveland's second administration.

As individuals, the irregulars voted outstandingly dissentient, as Schurz, of Missouri, or only occasionally, as Hoar, of Massachusetts. In all the three classifications just given, individual Senators, as distinguished from groups, could be found. In addition, as individuals, they fall into three separate classes. First, there was the Senator who fought the President, whether supported by the Senate machine or not, on the question of patronage. Conkling, of New York, is the outstanding example. Second, there was the man who was personally hostile to the President, as Hill, of New York. And third, there was the irregular who was negatively minded or who evidenced general disagreement, as Edmunds, of Vermont.

## REGULATION OF CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT ON MUNICIPAL PUBLIC WORKS

BY CHARLES M. KNEIER

*University of Illinois*

The right of the state or of a municipality to regulate conditions of employment on municipal public works has been presented to the courts in several cases. By constitutional provision, state law, municipal charter or ordinance, attempts have been made to regulate the conditions of employment for laborers on such work. These regulations have included the fixing of the maximum number of hours and the minimum wages for such employees; limiting such work to citizens or to union labor; and giving preference to ex-soldiers and ex-sailors or to heads of families. Such regulations apply not only to direct employees of the city but to employees of contractors engaged in the construction of municipal public works.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For the regulation of conditions of employment in private industry see: *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45, 49 Law. Ed. 937 (1905); *Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412, 52 Law. Ed. 551 (1908); *Adair v. United States*, 208 U.S. 161, 52 Law. Ed. 436 (1908); *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525, 67 Law. Ed. 785 (1923); *Coppage v. Kansas*, 236 U.S. 1, 59 Law. Ed. 441 (1915); *Riley v. Massachusetts*, 232 U.S. 671, 58 Law. Ed. 788 (1914); *Miller v. Wilson*, 236 U.S. 373, 59 Law. Ed. 628 (1915); *Bosley v. McLaughlin*, 236 U.S. 385, 59 Law. Ed. 632 (1915); *Bunting v. Oregon*, 243 U.S. 426, 61 Law. Ed. 830 (1917); *Wilson v. New*, 243 U.S. 332, 61 Law. Ed. 755 (1917); *Hawley v. Walker*, 232 U.S. 718, 58 Law. Ed. 813 (1913); *Dominion Hotel Co. v. Arizona*, 249 U.S. 265, 63 Law. Ed. 597 (1919); *Braceville Coal Co. v. People*, 147 Ill. 66, 35 N.E. 62 (1893); *Frorer v. People*, 141 Ill. 171, 31 N.E. 395 (1892); *State v. Crowe*, 130 Ark. 272, 197 S.W. 4 (1917); *State v. Goodwill*, 33 W.Va. 179, 10 S.E. 285 (1889); *Williams v. Evans*, 139 Minn. 32, 165 N.W. 495, 166 N.W. 504 (1914); *Stettler v. O'Hara*, 69 Ore. 519, 139 Pac. 743 (1914), affirmed by evenly divided court in 243 U.S. 629, 61 Law. Ed. 937 (1916); *Larsen v. Rice*, 100 Wash. 642, 171 Pac. 1037 (1918); *Holcombe v. Creamer*, 231 Mass. 99, 120 N.E. 354 (1918); *O'Neil v. Providence Amusement Co.*, 42 R.I. 479, 108 Atl. 887 (1920); *Stevenson v. St. Clair*, 161 Minn., 444, 201 N.W. 629 (1925); *Wenham v. State*, 65 Neb. 394, 91 N.W. 421 (1902); *Spokane Hotel Co. v. Younger*, 113 Wash. 359, 194 Pac. 595 (1920); *Comm. v. John T. Connor Co.*, 222 Mass. 299, 110 N.E. 301 (1915); *Withey v. Bloem*, 163 Mich. 419, 128 N.W. 913 (1910); *People v. Schweinler Press*, 214 N.Y. 395, 108 N.E. 639 (1915); *State v. Le Barron*, 24 Wyo. 519, 162 Pac. 265 (1917); *Inland Steel Co. v. Yedinak*, 172 Ind. 423, 87 N.E. 229 (1909); *State v. Shorey*, 48 Ore. 396, 86 Pac. 881 (1906); *People v. Elerding*, 254 Ill. 579, 98 N.E. 982 (1912); *State v. Loomis*, 115 Mo. 307, 22 S.W. 350 (1893).

In some earlier cases a distinction was drawn by the courts between the right to regulate the conditions of employment of its own direct employees and those of contractors doing work for the city. This distinction was abandoned in later cases, the view now being that "in a real and substantial sense, it is the money of the state that is paid to the laborers, though the distribution is made through the medium of contractors."<sup>2</sup>

#### FIXING MAXIMUM NUMBER OF HOURS

The most commonly found regulation is that fixing the maximum number of hours per day that men may be employed on municipal public work. Such a limitation is in some cases placed by the state, and in others by the city. In several earlier cases state courts took an unfavorable view of the constitutionality of such provisions.<sup>3</sup>

The Court of Appeals of New York, in a case before it in 1903, held a state law to be unconstitutional which prohibited persons or corporations contracting with the state or a municipality from requiring more than eight hours' work for a day's labor. The court held that such regulation was not within the police power and had no relation to the public health. It was declared to be an arbitrary distinction between persons contracting with the state or a municipality and other employers of labor.<sup>4</sup> The law

<sup>2</sup>*People v. Crane*, 214 N.Y. 154, 108 N.E. 427, 430 (1915).

<sup>3</sup>Some courts, however, upheld such regulations. As early as 1896 the Supreme Court of Louisiana upheld the right of a municipality to fix the number of hours of work for laborers on municipal public works. In referring to this regulation the Court said: "The city has the absolute control of its own property, and can regulate the hours of work to be employed on the same. The ordinance violates no law so far as it designates the number of hours in which laborers may be employed on public works." The ordinance was held invalid, however, because it made a violation of its provisions an indictable offense, which the General Assembly of the state alone could create. *State v. McNally*, 48 La. Ann. 1450, 21 So. 27 (1896). Also see: *In re Dalton*, 61 Kan. 257, 59 Pac. 336 (1899); *In re Ashby*, 60 Kan. 101, 55 Pac. 336 (1898); *State v. Wilson*, 65 Kan. 237, 69 Pac. 172 (1902); *State v. Martindale*, 47 Kan. 147, 27 Pac. 852 (1891).

<sup>4</sup>*People v. Orange County Road Construction Co.*, 175 N. Y. 84, 67 N.E. 129 (1903); reversing 77 N.Y.S. 16 (1902). Also see: *People v. Coler*, 166 N.Y. 1, 59 N.E. 716 (1901). An amendment to the charter of Buffalo of 1891 limiting the hours of employment of laborers of contractors on public works in that city was upheld by the Supreme Court of New York. *People v. Warren*, 28 N.Y.S. 303 (1894); *People ex rel. Warren v. Beck*, 30 N.Y.S. 473 (1894); reversed on other grounds in 144 N.Y. 225, 39 N.E. 80 (1894).

was also held to be an unconstitutional interference of the legislature with the rights of the municipalities.<sup>5</sup> Such a law was later upheld by the Court of Appeals, not under the police power, however; for the court could not see that it had any relation to the public health, safety, or morals, but "simply because the people have amended the constitution to permit such legislation."<sup>6</sup>

A similar law was also held to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Ohio. The court held that the law invaded the right of liberty and property, and could not be sustained as a valid exercise of the police power, since it was not necessary for the public welfare. The argument used before the court to sustain the law was that, since the city is a "mere agency and instrument of the state," the state had a right, by and through its legislature, to fix the hours of labor. The court refused to accept this argument, saying:

The fallacy of this contention lies in the assumption that the compulsory authority of the Legislature over municipal corporations is so absolute and arbitrary that it may dictate the specific terms upon which such municipality shall contract, and may prescribe what stipulations and conditions its contract shall contain, although such contracts may, as in this case, relate only to matters of purely local improvement. This is a misapprehension of the legislative authority, for no such power has been delegated to, or is possessed by the General Assembly.<sup>7</sup>

A constitutional amendment was later adopted providing that, except in cases of extraordinary emergencies, not to exceed eight hours shall constitute a day's work for workmen engaged on any public work carried on by the state or by any political subdivision thereof.<sup>8</sup> Maximum hours' regulations by either state or municipal ordinance have been upheld by the Supreme Court of the state since the adoption of this amendment.<sup>9</sup>

A similar unfavorable view was also taken of the early attempts to limit by ordinance the number of hours of labor for

<sup>5</sup>*People ex rel. Cossey v. Grant*, 179 N.Y. 417, 72 N.E. 464 (1904), cf. *People ex rel. North v. Featherstonhaugh*, 172 N.Y. 112, 64 N.E. 802 (1902); *Meyers v. Pennsylvania Steel Co.*, 79 N.Y.S. 199, 79 App. Div. 307 (1902).

<sup>6</sup>*People v. Metz*, 193 N.Y. 148, 85 N.E. 1070 (1908); reversing 126 App. Div. 912, 110 N.Y.S. 1141 (1908). For the amendment of 1905 see *Const. of N.Y.*, Art. XII, sec. 1.

<sup>7</sup>*Cleveland v. Clements Bros. Construction Co.*, 67 Ohio St. 197, 65 N.E. 885 (1902).

<sup>8</sup>*Const. of Ohio*, Art. II, sec. 37. Adopted in 1912.

<sup>9</sup>*Stange v. City of Cleveland*, 94 Ohio St. 324, 114 N.E. 261 (1916).

employees on municipal public works. The Supreme Court of Illinois held such a regulation invalid if it entered into the bidding on public work and tended to limit competition. It was held that such a regulation "infringes upon the freedom of contract, to which every citizen is entitled under the law." The court took the view, however, that an objector to a contract let under such a provision "must show that the provision restricting competition and having a tendency injurious to the public actually entered into the competition in some way."<sup>10</sup>

In a case before it in 1890, the Supreme Court of California held a municipal ordinance making it a misdemeanor for any contractor, when carrying out a contract with the city, to receive more than eight hours' labor in one day, to be void. The ordinance was held to be a direct infringement of the rights of persons engaged in a lawful business to make and enforce their contracts. "It is simply an attempt to prevent certain parties from employing others in a lawful business and paying them for their services, and is a direct infringement of the right of such persons to make and enforce their contracts."<sup>11</sup>

The Supreme Court of Washington also took the view that such a municipal regulation would be an unconstitutional interference with the right of contract.<sup>12</sup> The court later overruled this decision, explaining that it had been a brief *per curiam* opinion, and stated that as a result of more extended investigation and further consideration, it was of the view that such a regulation was constitutional.<sup>13</sup>

The first case to reach the Supreme Court of the United States in which the question of the right of the state to fix the maximum number of hours for employees on municipal public works was in 1903. The validity of a law of Kansas providing that eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers by or on behalf of the

<sup>10</sup>*Fiske v. People*, 188 Ill. 206, 58 N.E. 985 (1900); *McChesney v. People*, 200 Ill. 146, 65 N.E. 626 (1902); *Sweet v. People*, 200 Ill. 536, 65 N.E. 1094 (1902).

<sup>11</sup>*Ex parte Kubach*, 85 Calif. 274, 24 Pac. 737 (1890).

<sup>12</sup>*City of Seattle v. Smyth*, 22 Wash. 327, 60 Pac. 1120 (1900).

<sup>13</sup>*In re Broad*, 36 Wash. 449, 78 Pac. 1004 (1904). The change was probably due in large part to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Atkins v. Kansas*, *infra* note 14, which had been decided on May 1, 1903. Also see: *Normile v. Thompson*, 37 Wash. 465, 79 Pac. 1095 (1905); *Malette v. City of Spokane*, 68 Wash. 578, 123 Pac. 1005 (1912); same case on rehearing, 77 Wash. 205, 137 Pac. 496 (1913).

state or a municipality was under consideration. The law was upheld on the basis of the "relation existing between a state and its municipal corporations. Such corporations are creatures—mere political subdivisions—of the state, for the purpose of exercising a part of its powers." As the state may regulate the conditions of employment on its own public works, it may do this for "its municipal agents acting by its authority." The court went on to state that no employee is entitled, of absolute right and as a part of his liberty, to perform labor for the state. The state can determine the conditions under which persons will work for it or for its agents.<sup>14</sup>

Since the time of this decision, state courts have uniformly upheld the validity of state laws and municipal ordinances limiting the number of hours for laborers on municipal public works.<sup>15</sup> Where limited by state law, the courts take the view that "when the state engages directly or indirectly in the construction of public improvements, it may employ and refuse employment to whom it will, the same way and to the same extent that any citizen may exercise this right in reference to his private and personal affairs."<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>*Atkin v. Kansas*, 191 U.S. 207, 48 Law. Ed. 148 (1903); affirming *State v. Atkin*, 64 Kan. 174, 67 Pac. 519 (1902). A "note" in the Columbia Law Review refers to the theory in this case that the state may fix wages on municipal public works and not for private employment as "unsound and the distinction specious." The view taken is that the court "seized upon a legally indefensible theory to sustain their validity where the municipality is one of the contracting parties." The decision is commended from the point of desirable result but condemned on the basis of legal reasoning. See: 28 *Col. Law Rev.* 238 (Feb., 1928).

<sup>15</sup>For state cases before the decision in the *Atkin v. Kansas* case upholding the right of the state and city to make such regulations see *supra* note 3.

<sup>16</sup>*Byars v. State*, 2 Okla. Cr. 481, 102 Pac. 804 (1909). Also see: *Woods v. Woburn*, 220 Mass. 416, 107 N.E. 985 (1915); *State v. Livingston Concrete Building and Mfg. Co.*, 34 Mont. 570, 87 Pac. 980 (1906); *MacFarlane v. Mosier and Summers*, 141 N.Y.S. 143, 79 Misc. Rep. 460 (1913); *Mollory v. Village of Briarcliff Manor*, 143 N.Y.S. 599, 158 App. Div. 456 (1913); *Village of Medina v. Title Guaranty Surety Co.*, 136 N.Y.S. 786, 152 App. Div. 307 (1912); *Keeffe v. People*, 37 Colo. 317, 87 Pac. 791 (1906); *Sweeten v. State*, 122 Md. 634, 90 Atl. 180 (1914); on the power of the national government to prescribe limitations for laborers on federal public work see: *United States v. Martin*, 94 U.S. 400, 24 Law. Ed. 128 (1876); *Ellis v. United States*, 206 U.S. 246, 51 Law. Ed. 1047 (1907); *United States v. Garbish*, 222 U.S. 257, 56 Law. Ed. 190 (1911).

It seems that under this principle no special delegation of power by the state would be necessary to enable a city to limit the number of hours of work for laborers on municipal public works. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin, in considering this question, has said: "The whole matter of providing public works being delegated to the city, the city has, as an incident to its power to contract for the erection and construction of public works, the same inherent power to prescribe the conditions under which the work shall be carried on within the city, in the absence of any restriction by the state, that the state has, and it may exercise this inherent power unless and until it is restricted by legislative enactment."<sup>17</sup>

The question of the power of the city to impose such limitations arose, however, in a case before the Supreme Court of Minnesota in 1923. There was no charter provision expressly authorizing the council to pass an ordinance imposing such a limitation. The court upheld the ordinance under the provision of the charter giving the council "full power and authority to enact ordinances for the good government of the city . . . the preservation of peace and good order . . . the preservation of health . . . to promote the general welfare, education, comfort, and well being of the city and its inhabitants."<sup>18</sup> The court in this case seems to be basing such limitations upon the police power rather than upon the generally used principle that a city may employ or refuse to employ a person or class as it sees fit, or to employ him under any limitations it desires to impose.

Requiring contractors not to work laborers more than eight hours each day is not contrary to a provision of a city charter that contracts to be let to the lowest responsible bidder.<sup>19</sup> Such a provision does not mean that the work must be done at the lowest possible cost. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin has stated this principle as follows: "The right to specify the grade of material to be used does not limit the city to the specification of the cheapest grade of material. It may exercise its discretion in

<sup>17</sup>*City of Milwaukee v. Raulf*, 164 Wis. 172, 159 N.W. 819 (1916).

<sup>18</sup>*City of St. Paul v. Fielding and Shepley*, 155 Minn. 471, 194 N.W. 18 (1923).

<sup>19</sup>*Curtice v. Schmidt*, 202 Mo. 703, 101 S.W. 61 (1907); *Barber Asphalt Co. v. Bancroft*, 167 Calif. 185, 138 Pac. 742 (1914); *Gamma Alpha Bldg. Assn. v. City of Eugene*, 94 Ore. 80, 184 Pac. 973 (1919).

that respect. When the specifications are complete, including the prescribed limitation as to hours of men to be employed upon public work, all bidders are on the same footing, and the one bidding the lowest sum is the lowest bidder within the meaning of the charter."<sup>20</sup>

#### MINIMUM WAGE REGULATIONS

Closely connected with the question of limiting the number of hours a laborer may be employed on municipal public work is that of fixing the minimum wages that he may be paid. As in the case of the regulation of the number of hours of employment per day, there has been a change in the view of the courts as to the validity of such legislation. While in several earlier cases such a regulation was looked upon as invalid, a more favorable view has been taken in recent years.

The Supreme Court of Indiana, in a case before it in 1903, held unconstitutional a state law providing that unskilled labor upon public work of the state or municipalities receive not less than 20 cents per hour. The court held that the "authority to fix by contract the prices to be paid for property, including human labor, is not ordinarily within the domain of legislation." In so far as the price to be paid labor on such work exceeded the rate at which such labor could be obtained by other persons at the same place, "then the excess so paid for labor on public improvements is taken from the citizens for such works, not by due process of law, but by a mere legislative fiat."<sup>21</sup>

The argument was used before the court that, as the state could fix the wages of its own employees, it could do this for the "mere political and municipal subdivisions of the state, through which the government is administered." The court rejected this argument, stating that cities are "corporations as well as political and governmental subdivisions and agencies." In the employment of labor, they were held to "stand much upon the same footing as private corporations; and they cannot be compelled by an act of the legislature to pay for any species of property more than it is worth, or more than its market value at the time

<sup>20</sup>*City of Milwaukee v. Raulf*, *supra* note 17.

<sup>21</sup>*Street v. Varney Electrical Supply Co.*, 160 Ind. 338, 66 N.E. 895 (1903). The court also held that since the statute applied only to "unskilled labor" it was an unnatural classification rendering the statute invalid.

and place where it is contracted for." The power to fix an arbitrary price for labor, in excess of the market value, was held to be "not one of the powers of the legislature over municipal corporations, nor the legitimate use of such corporations as agencies of the state."<sup>22</sup>

The Court of Appeals of New York also denied the power of the state to fix the wages of workmen on municipal public works. The court held that while the state might fix the wages paid by the city to its employees, it was a "false analogy to assume that it has the like right to dictate to the contractor the wages he shall pay his workmen." The court refused to accept the argument that the power of the state over cities was such as to sustain such regulations; otherwise, "local self-government would be nothing but a sham and delusion."<sup>23</sup>

The generally accepted view is today, however, that a minimum wage may be fixed for laborers upon municipal public works. This may be done either by state law or by municipal ordinance. The courts reason that "if it be within the power of the state to limit the number of hours a laborer may be permitted to labor in one calendar day on any public work undertaken by it, it can fix the minimum sum that shall be paid to him as wages for such labor." In either case, the power rests on the principle that the state or a municipality may prescribe the conditions upon which they will permit public work to be done.<sup>24</sup>

The fixing by the city of the wages to be paid laborers by contractors is not contrary to a charter provision that contracts be let to the lowest responsible bidder.<sup>25</sup> The Supreme Court of Wisconsin, in referring to the wide discretion vested in a city council, has said: "It has the power of determining as to the grade or quality of the material that is to be used in public work, and

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup>*People ex rel. Rodgers v. Coler*, *supra* note 4.

<sup>24</sup>*Gies v. Broad*, 41 Wash. 448, 83 Pac. 1025 (1906). Also see: *Clark v. State*, 142 N.Y. 101, 36 N.E. 817 (1894); *State ex rel. Miller v. Niven*, 180 Wis. 583, 194 N.W. 30 (1923); *Bopp v. Clark*, 165 Ia. 697, 147 N.W. 172 (1914).

<sup>25</sup>The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in a case before it in 1895 held that such a requirement would be contrary to a statutory provision that contracts be awarded to the lowest responsible bidder. *Frame v. Felix*, 167 Pa. St. 47, 31 Atl. 375 (1895). Cf. *State v. Atlantic City*, 44 Atl. 651 (1899); *Van Reipen v. Mayor, etc., of Jersey City*, 58 N.J. Law 271, 33 Atl. 740 (1896).

there is no charter provision or rule of law which binds it to select the cheaper rather than the higher-priced or valued material for public work, and we can see no ground for judicial interference with the exercise of the same discretionary power by the common council in determining as to what shall be the grade as measured by the cost, as to the labor to be employed, any more than as to the cost or price of material."<sup>26</sup>

The Supreme Court of Michigan has held, however, that a city could not fix such wages under a constitutional grant of home rule. The City of Detroit provided an eight-hour day and a minimum wage for city employees and employees of contractors doing work for the city. This was held to be not within the home-rule powers of the city, being a matter of state rather than municipal concern.<sup>27</sup>

Such statutes and ordinances usually provide that laborers employed by or on behalf of the city be given not less than the current rate of per diem wages in the locality.<sup>28</sup> Ordinances have been upheld, however, which fixed wages at 25 cents per hour, at \$2.20 cents for eight hours, and at \$3 for eight hours.<sup>29</sup> The Supreme Court of Washington has upheld a provision of the charter of Seattle providing that contractors shall pay "not less than the current rate of wages paid by the City of Seattle for work of like character," and in any event not less than \$2.75 per day. Even though the court considered such wages unreasonable, it upheld the validity of the provision on the grounds that the city has the right to prescribe the conditions on which it will permit public work to be done. Since the fixing of such wages is not an exercise of the police power, it was held to be not subject to review for reasonableness; "the state and the various municipalities within it have the right to say that public work shall be

---

<sup>26</sup>*Wagner v. City of Milwaukee*, 180 Wis. 640, 192 N.W. 994 (1923); appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed for want of jurisdiction. 266 U.S. 585 (1924).

<sup>27</sup>*Attorney General v. City of Detroit*, 225 Mich. 631, 196 N.W. 391 (1923).

<sup>28</sup>*Byars v. State*, *supra* note 16; *Ryan v. City of New York*, 177 N.Y. 271, 69 N.E. 599 (1904); *Campbell v. City of New York*, 155 N.E. 628, affirming judgment in 218 App. Div. 826, 219 N.Y.S. 782 (1927); *State v. Tibbetts*, 21 Okla. Cr. 168, 205 Pac. 776 (1922).

<sup>29</sup>*Gies v. Broad*, *supra* note 24; *Neal Publishing Co. v. Rolph*, 169 Calif. 190, 146 Pac. 659 (1915); *Norris v. City of Lawton*, 47 Okla. 213, 148 Pac. 123 (1915).

done in any manner, at any price, and upon any terms which they see fit to lay down."<sup>30</sup>

Some courts, while upholding the general power to fix minimum wages for employees on municipal public works, have found the method of arriving at the minimum wage, or the particular scale under consideration, to be objectionable. An ordinance of Milwaukee provided that laborers employed on any public work done by or for the city be paid not less than the "prevailing wage" scale in the city. The "prevailing wage scale" was to be fixed and approved by a majority of the members of the council, but it was "to be determined by the wage scale paid to members of any regular and recognized organization of such skilled laborers for such skilled labor."<sup>31</sup> The ordinance was held to be void by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin as an unconstitutional delegation of power to "labor unions." According to the court, the ordinance amounted to "nothing less than a surrender by the members of the common council of the exercise of their independent, individual judgments in the determination of a matter of legislative concern and an agreement that, if they act upon the subject at all, the determination of such outside body rather than their own shall control."<sup>32</sup>

The Supreme Court of Nebraska has also declared unconstitutional a law which provided that laborers on municipal public works should be paid \$2 for eight hours if unskilled, and the current scale of union wages if skilled. The court held that "there should be no fixed rate of wages provided by the legislature without reference to the going wages for that kind of work at the time and place where it is to be performed."<sup>33</sup>

In 1926 the Supreme Court of the United States held unconstitutional a law of Oklahoma providing that persons employed by or on behalf of the state receive "not less than the current rate of per diem wages in the locality where the work is performed."

---

<sup>30</sup>*Jahn v. City of Seattle*, 120 Wash. 403, 207 Pac. 667 (1922). Also see: *Malette v. City of Spokane*, *supra* note 13.

<sup>31</sup>The Council fixed the wages in thirty-eight employments, the wages varying from 65 cents to \$1.25 per hour.

<sup>32</sup>*Wagner v. City of Milwaukee*, 177 Wis. 410, 188 N.W. 487 (1922).

<sup>33</sup>*Wright v. Hootor*, 95 Neb. 342, 145 N.W. 704 (1914). In holding the law invalid the court placed great emphasis upon the provision that such work should be done only by union labor.

This phrase was held to be too vague and indefinite, the court stating that the "constitutional guaranty of due process cannot be allowed to rest upon a support so equivocal."<sup>84</sup> This decision would seem to jeopardize the provisions for minimum wages on municipal public works where such a standard is provided.

The Supreme Court of Georgia still follows the earlier rule that minimum wages for laborers upon municipal public work may not be fixed. In a case before it in 1927, the court held an ordinance fixing wages of employees of contractors doing work for the city, or of city employees where the work was done by the city itself, to be "*ultra vires* and illegal, because it tends to encourage monopoly and defeat competition, and also tends to put a heavier burden upon the taxpayers than they would have to bear if free competition were allowed."<sup>85</sup> This, however, is clearly a minority view, the majority view being that such regulations are valid.

#### REQUIRING UNION LABOR ON PUBLIC WORK

Attempts have been made to limit employment on municipal public work to union labor. Several cases have been before the courts where all printing used by the city was required to bear the union label. Such a requirement has been held to be void. It has been condemned as tending "to defeat competition and encourage monopoly"<sup>86</sup> and as imposing a "possible additional burden on the taxpayer."<sup>87</sup> Since such a requirement limits competition, it has been stated that it must of necessity increase the cost of work, and it is consequently against public policy.<sup>88</sup> Favoring a union shop in the letting of contracts for printing has been held to be arbitrary, and not the exercise of the legal discretion of the council upon consideration of the relative merits of all the bids presented, and consequently void.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup>*Connally v. General Construction Co.*, 269 U.S. 385, 70 Law Ed. 322 (1926).

<sup>85</sup>*Wilson v. City of Atlanta*, 139 S.E. 148 (Ga., 1927).

<sup>86</sup>*City of Atlanta v. Stein*, 111 Ga. 789, 36 S.E. 932 (1900).

<sup>87</sup>*State v. Mayor, etc., of City of Peterson*, 66 N.J.L. 129, 48 Atl., 589 (1901).

<sup>88</sup>*Marshall and Bruce Co. v. City of Nashville*, 109 Tenn. 495, 71 S.W. 815 (1903).

<sup>89</sup>*Miller v. City of Des Moines*, 143 Ia. 409, 122 N.W. 226 (1909). Also see: *Goddard v. City of Lowell*, 179 Mass. 496, 61 N.E. 53 (1901); *Holden*

The requirement that union labor be used has been extended, however, to other municipal work. An ordinance of the City of Chicago provided that bidders on a paving contract agree to use only members of labor unions where a sufficient number of such persons were available. The Supreme Court of Illinois held the requirement invalid on the grounds that it amounted to "a discrimination between different classes of citizens, and lays down a rule which restricts competition and increases the cost of work. Under our Constitution and laws, any man has a right to employ a workman to perform labor for him, whether such workman belongs to a labor union or not; and any workman has a right to contract for the performance of labor, irrespective of the question whether he belongs to a labor union or not."<sup>40</sup>

A state law providing that where a city performed work directly or indirectly upon sewers, streets, buildings, parks, and other municipal projects, the work be done by union labor, has been held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Nebraska. In referring to this provision, the court said: "The thing done is contrary to the spirit of our Government which contemplates the best that may be honestly and fairly done for all its citizens." The requirement that laborers on municipal public work belong to a certain restricted class was also condemned as being undemocratic, and as tending to prevent competition and increase the probable cost of improvements.<sup>41</sup>

The courts are in agreement in holding unconstitutional such a provision limiting employment on public work to union labor as applied not only to cities but to the state, counties and school districts.<sup>42</sup> They have been unwilling to extend the doctrine used

---

*v. City of Alton*, 179 Ill. 318, 53 N.E. 556 (1899); *Neal Publishing Co. v. Rolph*, *supra* note 29.

<sup>40</sup>*Fiske v. People*, *supra* note 10. The Supreme Court of Illinois has also held unconstitutional a statute forbidding employers from discharging a man for joining a labor union, since it granted a privilege to union laborers not extended to non-union men. *Gillespie v. People*, 188 Ill. 176, 58 N.E. 1007 (1900).

<sup>41</sup>*Wright v. Hoctor*, *supra* note 33; motion for rehearing overruled in 146 N.W. 997 (1914).

<sup>42</sup>*Elliot v. City of Pittsburgh*, 6 Pa. Dist. Rep. 455 (1897); *State ex rel. Mitchell Furniture Co. v. Toole*, 26 Mont. 22, 66 Pac. 496 (1901); *Davenport v. Walker*, 68 N.Y.S., 161, 57 App. Div. 221 (1901); *People v. Edgcomb*, 98 N.Y.S. 965, 112 App. Div. 604 (1906); *Lewis v. Board of Education of City of Detroit*, 139 Mich. 306, 102 N.W. 756 (1905); *Adams v. Brennan*, 177 Ill. 196, 52 N.E. 314 (1898); *Grey v. People*, 194 Ill. 486, 62 N.E. 894 (1902).

to sustain maximum hour and minimum wage requirements—that municipalities have the right to say that work shall be done in any manner, at any price, and upon any terms which they see fit—to include a requirement that union labor be used. Judicial reasoning, it seems, has been forced in this case to yield to public policy.

Though the courts have not extended this doctrine to enable a city to require membership of its employees in a labor union, the Court of Appeals of Texas has upheld the principle as applied to the right of a city to dismiss an employee for membership in such an organization. In considering this question, the court stated that "It cannot be said, as a matter of law, that a municipal corporation has no right or authority . . . to determine that membership in a certain organization renders its appointees inefficient and untrustworthy."<sup>43</sup>

#### PROHIBITING THE EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS

In several cases the employment of aliens on municipal public works has been prohibited by constitutional provision, by statute, or by municipal ordinance.<sup>44</sup> The validity of such regulations has been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States on the grounds that the principle was the same as prescribing the number of hours. The court took the view that no distinction could be drawn in the two types of regulations. "The one is as much of the essence of the right regulated as the other; that is, the same elements are in both cases—the right of the individual employer and employee to contract as they shall see fit; the relation of the state to the matter regulated; that is, the public character of the work."<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>*San Antonio Fire Fighters' Local Union v. Bell*, 223 S.W. 506 (Texas, 1920); *McNatt v. Lawther*, 223 S.W. 503 (Texas, 1920). Cf. *State v. Julow*, 129 Mo. 163, 31 S.W. 781 (1895); *State v. Kreutzberg*, 114 Wis. 530, 90 N.W. 1098 (1902); *Adair v. United States*, *supra* note 1; *Coppage v. Kansas*, *supra* note 1.

<sup>44</sup>See: *Const. of Ariz.*, Art. 18, sec. 10; *Const. of Idaho*, Art. 13, sec. 5; *Const. of Wyo.*, Art. 19, sec. 1; *Const. of Calif.*, Art. 19, sec. 3; *Gen. Laws of Mass.*, 1921, vol. 2, ch. 149, sec. 26; *Comp. Laws of N. J.*, 1709-1910, vol. 3, p. 3023, sec. 15; *Pa. Stat. Law*, 1920, sec. 18268; *Rev. Laws of Nev.*, 1912, sec. 3483; *Ore. Laws*, 1920, vol. 2, sec. 2997.

<sup>45</sup>*Heim v. McCall*, 239 U.S. 175, 60 Law. Ed. 206 (1915). For the same case in Appellate Division of the state courts see 165 App. Div. 449, 150 N.Y.S. 933; in Court of Appeals, 214 N.Y. 629, 108 N.E. 1095 (1915);

The Court of Appeals of New York, in upholding such a regulation, assumed that the "purpose of the statute is not to promote efficiency in doing the work, but to discriminate in the distribution of the public wealth in favor of the citizen."<sup>46</sup> The court took the view that there is no distinction between the right of the Government to exclude aliens from its employment and the right of independent contractors to employ or refuse employment to a class as they see fit. Though applied to contractors for the city, "in a real and substantial sense, it is the money of the state that is paid to the laborers." To say that such employees receive, not the state's money, but that of the contractor, was held to be putting form above substance.<sup>47</sup>

#### MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.

Following the principle used to sustain regulations fixing maximum hours and minimum wages, the courts have upheld the right to give preference to ex-soldiers and ex-sailors in public employment.<sup>48</sup> In upholding such a regulation, the Supreme Court of Iowa has said: "The state has the same freedom of employment that belongs to the individual, and no one will contend that the individual may not employ any person whom he wishes to employ, or that he may not employ his employees from a certain class."<sup>49</sup>

---

*Crane v. New York*, 239 U.S. 195, 60 Law. Ed. 218 (1915). For case in Appellate Division of state courts see 165 App. Div. 449, 150 N.Y.S. 938; in Court of Appeals, 214 N.Y. 154, 108 N.E. 427 (1915); *McChesney v. People*, *supra* note 10; *Doyle v. People*, 207 Ill. 75, 69 N.E. 639 (1903). Cf. *Hamilton v. People*, 194 Ill. 133, 62 N.E. 533 (1901); *Givins v. People*, 194 Ill. 150, 62 N.E. 534 (1901); *Glover v. People*, 201 Ill. 545, 66 N.E. 820 (1903); *Lee v. Lynn*, 223 Mass. 109, 111 N.E. 700 (1911).

<sup>46</sup>For laws denying to aliens the right to fish and hunt see: *McCready v. Virginia*, 4 Otto 391 (1877); *People v. Lowndes*, 130 N.Y. 455, 29 N.E. 751 (1892); *Commonwealth v. Hilton*, 174 Mass. 29, 54 N.E. 362 (1899); *Geer v. Connecticut*, 161 U.S. 519, 40 Law. Ed. 793 (1896); *Patson v. Pennsylvania*, 232 U.S. 138, 58 Law. Ed. 539 (1914).

<sup>47</sup>*People v. Crane*, *supra* note 2. Cf. *People v. Orange County Road Construction Co.*, *supra* note 4; *Atkin v. Kansas*, *supra* note 14; *People ex rel. Cossey v. Grant*, *supra* note 5.

<sup>48</sup>For laws providing for such preference to veterans on public work see: *Gen. Laws of Mass.*, 1921, vol. 2, ch. 149, sec. 26; *Gen. Laws of Calif.*, 1923, Part III, Act 6417.

<sup>49</sup>*Shaw v. City Council of Marshalltown*, 131 Ia. 128, 104 N.W. 1121 (1905). Also see: *Goodrich v. Mitchell*, 68 Kan. 765, 75 Pac. 1034 (1904); *State ex rel. Cowden v. Miller*, 66 Minn. 90, 68 N.W. 732 (1896); *Brown v.*

Under this principle, preference may also be given to heads of families. The Supreme Court of Washington, in upholding the validity of such a regulation, has said that the courts would no more attempt to say "the class of people who shall perform that work, than they will attempt to interfere and prescribe the material to go into the work, the manner of construction, or other engineering details of a public improvement."<sup>50</sup>

#### SUMMARY

The courts have taken a liberal attitude relative to the regulation of conditions of employment on municipal public works. When such regulations are provided by the state, the courts uphold their validity on the basis of the relation existing between the state and its municipal agents. They are looked upon as mere political subdivisions of the state, and as the state may regulate conditions of employment on its own public works, it may do this for its agents acting by its authority. The courts have drawn no distinction between public works used in a corporate and in a governmental capacity, but reason that in any case they are constructed under state authority.

When the regulation is provided by the city itself, the courts hold that as the city may specify the type of material to be used, it may do this also as to the labor. No special delegation would seem to be necessary to enable the city to provide such regulations. As an incident to its power to contract for the construction of public works, it may prescribe the conditions under which the work shall be carried out.<sup>51</sup>

Regulations providing for maximum hours of labor, for minimum wages, the exclusion of alien labor, preference to veterans and to heads of families, have been sustained on the basis of this

---

*Russell*, 166 Mass. 14, 43 N.E. 1005 (1896); *In re Opinion*, 166 Mass. 595, 44 N.E. 625 (1896); *Keim v. United States*, 177 U.S. 290, 44 Law. Ed. 774 (1900); *In re Opinion of the Justices*, 145 Mass. 587, 13 N.E. 15 (1887); *State ex rel. Townsend v. Boughner*, 55 N.J.L. 381, 26 Atl. 808 (1893); *Stutzbach v. Coler*, 168 N.Y. 416, 61 N.E. 697 (1901); *Jones v. O'Toole*, 190 Calif. 252, 212 Pac. 9 (1923); *Dever v. Platt*, 81 Kan. 200, 105 Pac. 445 (1909); *McKeon v. O'Toole*, 71 Calif. App. 445, 235 Pac. 464 (1925); *Boyer v. Mayor, etc., of City of Creston*, 113 N.W. 474 (Ia., 1907); *Johnson v. Pugh*, 152 Minn. 437, 189 N.W. 257 (1922); *State v. Scott*, 163 Minn. 190, 203 N.W. 774 (1925); *Rich v. Kimball*, 252 Mass. 213, 147 N.E. 586 (1925).

<sup>50</sup>*Jahn v. City of Seattle*, *supra* note 30.

<sup>51</sup>Compare, however, cases cited *supra* notes 17, 18, 27.

line of reasoning. The courts have refused, however, to extend this principle so as to uphold the right of either the state or a municipality to require union labor on municipal public work. With this exception, the courts have extended to the state, acting directly or through its municipalities, great freedom to employ or refuse employment, or to lay down conditions of employment on municipal public works.

## AUXILIARY AND NON-PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN BRITAIN

BY JAMES K. POLLOCK  
*University of Michigan*

While we are in the midst of investigations and discussions about lobbying and other activities of the pressure groups in Washington, it should not be amiss to observe to what extent the politics of other countries are affected by similar activities. Auxiliary party organizations and non-party groups have flourished in this country for many a day, but there is nothing unique about this political phenomenon. In the other democratically governed countries, organized interests exist and in their own ways attempt to influence the action of governmental authorities.

It is not the purpose of this paper to review conditions in European countries generally, but merely to portray the British situation as to ancillary and non-party organizations. From the facts thus adduced, one will be able to view the American scene with a somewhat broader perspective, and at least to realize that pressure groups, although somewhat more numerous, and one may also say more influential, in America than elsewhere, are not a unique and distinctive American development.

The situation in Britain is very interesting. Alongside of the recognized political parties we find a great variety of ancillary party organizations, and a greater variety and number of non-party or pressure groups. The differentiation here made between auxiliary and non-party groups is based on the fact that there are two general classes of organizations, aside from the regular party organizations, with primarily a political purpose, namely, the type of organization set up or inspired by the regular party organizations with the purpose of aiding and supplementing the official party machinery, and secondly, the type of organization brought into being to agitate either for or against some policy, more or less regardless of the positions taken by the political parties. The activities of all of these organizations are of enough importance to deserve more consideration than they have heretofore received.

Up to the year 1918 these organizations were of considerable electoral value. That is, they took part actively in elections; and, according to good opinion, in many cases affected the results.

Since the law of that year, these electoral activities have been altered, but the organizations operate between elections quite as before. They maintain permanent offices and staffs, some large and some small; they publish tracts; they provide lectures; they form delegations to call upon the public authorities; so that, altogether, they keep up a more or less constant agitation. Even during elections they prepare elaborate questionnaires and send them to the candidates. Some of this work is useful and some of it is effective, but of course much of it is to no avail except to provide work for some enthusiastic people.

Such groups as we are now considering do not constitute a recent political development in Britain. As President Lowell pointed out nearly thirty years ago, there have been numerous ancillary party organizations since the passage of the Reform Act of 1867, and there have been many powerful non-party groups for more than a hundred and fifty years.<sup>1</sup> One can readily recall the Primrose League (which is still functioning), the early Women's Liberal Federation, the Anti-Corn Law League, the Anti-Slavery Society, and numerous others. Their influence upon English public policy was great. Since their day, life has become more complex and interests have become more varied, with the result that there are now ten organizations for every one which formerly existed. Many of these present-day descendants of the early political societies are as influential as their predecessors, while many others eke out a precarious and unenviable existence. But there is nothing new about the phenomenon of political organizations outside of the regular party machinery. The only new feature is the multiplicity of such groups.

A recent selected list of central organizations and societies having for their objects the promotion of particular matters in relation to public policy, the enforcement or alteration of certain laws, or the advancement of various political, religious, or educational views, contained no fewer than 215 names.<sup>2</sup> This astoundingly large number should not be taken too seriously, although it should indicate the extent to which the British people are organized into groups to promote various objects. The Sunday Society vies with

---

<sup>1</sup>*The Government of England*, vol. 1, ch. xxvi, and vol. 2, ch. xxxi. See also M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, vol. 1, ch. 6.

<sup>2</sup>*The Constitutional Yearbook*, 1927, p. 347.

the National British Cotton-Growing Association. The True Temperance Association, the Early-Closing Association, the Divorce Law Reform Union, the British Sugar Beet Society, and the Decimal Association fit into our picture and help to fill out the list. Taken together, these groups constitute a considerable influence in British public life, and their connection with the problem of money in politics is intimate enough to warrant careful consideration.

Let us first consider the auxiliary party organizations. We find that they are of two general types, leagues or societies; and, secondly, clubs of one sort or another. Both types exist to supplement the regular party organizations and to assist them in one way or another with political work. In many cases they have been formed by the regular party leaders for a definite purpose. In others, they have come into being without directions from headquarters, and exist without headquarters support. But in either case the connection with the parties is a close one, and whatever help these auxiliary groups are able to give, redounds to the benefit of the regular party organizations.

Each one of the three parties has a number of auxiliary groups more or less appended to it. The Primrose League is one of the most notable of these.<sup>3</sup> Originally founded in 1883 by the members of the Fourth Party, it has grown and developed very rapidly, until now it is looked upon as a great aid to the Conservative cause. It is today quite the same as when President Lowell referred to it, thirty years ago, as "nothing but a great electioneering machine for winning Conservative victories at the polls."<sup>4</sup> In 1924, for instance, when Sir William Joynson-Hicks was its chancellor, he wrote to the members: "In accordance with its usual custom, the Primrose League is devoting the whole of its organization to election work. The need for helpers is very great, and I shall be glad if all members of the Primrose League will offer their services to the agent of the Conservative Party in their respective constituencies."<sup>5</sup>

Another Conservative auxiliary which has been developed in comparatively recent years is the Junior Imperial League.<sup>6</sup> At

<sup>3</sup>See A. L. Lowell, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 8-12.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>*The Morning Post*, October 14, 1924.

<sup>6</sup>See my monograph on "British Party Organization" which appeared in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XLV, pp. 161-180 (June, 1930).

present this league has 1,500 branches and 250,000 members. It has full-time organizers, a regular publication, and regular meetings. Another Conservative organization, of a similar sort, dealing with young people, is the Young Britons' League. Similar organizations are attached to the other parties. There is the League of Young Liberals, and the Labour League of Youth.<sup>7</sup> Neither of these two is as strong as the Junior Imperial League, for the Conservatives have worked on their organization more assiduously and for a longer time.

There are also many other leagues and societies which are ancillary to the regular parties. The Land and Nation League is a good illustration. For a time it was so important that one would almost say that the Land and Nation League was the Liberal Party. It was abundantly furnished with money from the Lloyd George Fund, and its work constituted the major part of the work of the Liberal Party. Since the reorganization of the party in 1927, the League has kept in the background. But during its prime it was a powerful research and publicity agency, advocating policies which were identified with the Lloyd George wing of the Liberal Party. Its expenditures were very large. It maintained well equipped headquarters and adequately trained staffs. It carried on its work all over the island, and really led the way for the other party groups in appealing to the electors according to up-to-date campaign methods.

The Fabian Society has been a powerful aid to the Labour Party.<sup>8</sup> Its expenditures have not been large, amounting to about £5,000 a year,<sup>9</sup> but its influence upon the policies of the party has been very great. Occasionally the society will make a grant of money to assist a member of the society who is a Labour Party candidate, but its direct financial assistance is small. It does publish, however, the *Fabian News* and the *Local Government News*, two rather widely distributed magazines which aid the work of the Labour Party, and it is constantly publishing tracts and arranging public lectures.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>The *Labour Organizer*, vol. 6, p. 119, gives the new developments in the Labour League of Youth.

<sup>8</sup>The standard work on the Society is E. R. Pease, *History of the Fabian Society*.

<sup>9</sup>See the Annual Reports of the Society.

<sup>10</sup>The Fabian Tracts are very valuable contributions to the science of government.

It is rather difficult to know how to consider the Coöperative Party, which calls itself a party but which is not a party in the sense of the three great parties. Since 1927 an agreement has existed between the Labour Party and the Coöperative Party by which a National Joint Committee has been set up "to deal with the joint activities and the mutual relations of the parties."<sup>11</sup> There is thus a close working arrangement, and considerable electoral advantage accrues to the Labour Party as a result of Coöperative support.<sup>12</sup> The financial assistance rendered by the Coöperative Party and its local societies to Labour candidates, while not great, is nevertheless substantial in many cases, and constitutes a good source of revenue to the party.<sup>13</sup> This is a source of funds, incidentally, which is not adequately reported by the Labour Party in its annual report.

In the field of municipal politics the national parties occasionally use other names. Instead of Conservative and Liberal candidates, one will find, in London, Municipal Reform and Progressive candidates. The Labour Party is an exception, for it enters regular party candidates in local as well as in parliamentary elections. But, regardless of the name the candidate runs under, he is supported by his party organization. One should not, therefore, be deceived into thinking that the London Municipal Society, the London Progressive Union, and the National Union of Ratepayers' Associations are eleemosynary societies unconnected with political parties. The fact is that these groups are valuable ancillary party organizations, even though their activity is limited to the sphere of municipal politics."<sup>14</sup>

The various leagues and societies here described are, therefore, valuable aids to the parties. Without them the parties would be somewhat handicapped. Mention has not been made of the Independent Labour Party, the Women's National Liberal Federation, and such organizations, because they are so clearly an integral part of the regular party machinery, that their activities and expenditures should be considered in connection with the regular party organizations.

<sup>11</sup>*Annual Report of the Labour Party, 1927, p. 7.*

<sup>12</sup>*The Labour Organizer, vol. 6, p. 125.*

<sup>13</sup>*Annual Report of the Labour Party, 1928, p. 10.*

<sup>14</sup>In his *Government of European Cities*, revised edition, ch. 5, Professor Munro clearly and accurately describes political activity in municipal contests.

A second type of auxiliary party organization is the clubs of all sorts which cover the whole country. The famous party clubs in London have had a very great influence upon the policies of the two older parties. The Carlton Club, the Reform Club, the Conservative Club, the National Liberal Club, and several others have not been mere social centers. As powerful political groups, they have not only assisted their respective parties with funds and services, but they have had an effect upon national policy. Each of these clubs has a political fund which is made up from a portion of the members' dues, but it is also possible for a person to make a large donation to the club for political purposes. In former years much money went directly from the Carlton Club to given constituencies to help Conservative candidates, and there is nothing to prevent this from being done today. In 1929, Viscount Younger, who was then treasurer of the Conservative Party, asked the Carlton Club for £100,000 to help him finance the approaching election, and there are reasons to believe that he was not disappointed.

There are counterparts to these great metropolitan clubs in many of the constituencies. Many of them were formed for express political purposes, but some of them have degenerated into rather inferior social clubs possessing little value for the party. In fact, wherever there is a party club, there is a constant struggle to keep the club on a basis where it will be an aid to the party. As an official Labour Party publication has stated it: "It has again been borne in upon us that some of our local comrades are not sufficiently careful for the future when setting up Labour clubs. We could give a number of instances where clubs have been established solely by the energy and for the benefit of the local labour movement, but in the course of a year or two's working, the absorption of the principal party officers in other activities has led to the club management getting more and more out of touch with the party, and in some cases out of sympathy with them. We know of cases where the party has actually been divorced from the club entirely, and the latter has degenerated into a purely commercial undertaking. A worse evil befalls in some places where, through lack of recognition of the party's ideals, clubs have degenerated into mere drinking dens."<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>*The Labour Organizer*, vol. 8, p. 137.

Nor is this an exclusively Labour Party difficulty. An official Conservative publication alluded to the party clubs as follows: "In many cases the responsibility of a club's failure to be a live political force falls upon the club committee itself, who, with an earnest desire to obtain a large membership and better the finances, ignore the primary object for which the club was formed, namely, the promoting of Conservative principles, and admit to membership persons of any or no political view, with the result that the club becomes nothing more than a social club and ceases to be the asset that it should be to the party."<sup>16</sup> But, despite these difficulties, the various party clubs throughout the country help to carry on political work, and to assist the parties with their activities. The various speakers' clubs, such as the Eighty Club, the United Club, the Nineteen Hundred Club, and the Nineteen Twelve Club, also render yeoman service to their respective parties when elections come along, and they often provide forums for important statements of policy from their party leaders.

We must now consider the activities and importance of the numerous non-party organizations. These are the groups which would be called "pressure groups" in the United States, because they are organized for the purpose of furthering some cause by bringing pressure to bear upon the governing authorities. For our present purposes we will divide these numerous non-party organizations into four main classes; namely, those which are working either for or against the Trade, as the liquor trade is called in Britain; second, those which concern themselves with business and industry; third, the trade unions; and fourth, the miscellaneous societies which deal with innumerable different causes of relatively small national importance when compared to the foregoing three classes.

The organizations which are in the first class are working either for or against the liquor traffic. These are by all odds the most important non-party groups in Britain. No less than sixteen leagues and associations have been formed either to fight the Trade or to defend it.<sup>17</sup> Up to the present, the temperance societies have not made much headway, although they have placed the liquor interests on the defensive and have forced them to take

---

<sup>16</sup>*The Conservative Agents' Journal*, November, 1927, p. 306.

<sup>17</sup>*The Constitutional Yearbook*, 1927, p. 353.

unusual measures to protect themselves. The National Temperance League, the National United Temperance Council, and the Temperance Legislation League have carried on an agitation against liquor, but their activities and their expenditures are as nothing compared to the work and expenditures of the brewing and distilling interests.

The trade defense associations organized by the liquor interests are of various sorts. There are, in the first place, three organizations which were formed to attract respectable persons who are opposed to prohibition. These are the Anti-Prohibition League, the Fellowship of Freedom and Reform, and the True Temperance Association. One might add an amusing by-product group which is called "The Froth-Blowers." Then there are, in the second place, the various organizations of brewers, distillers, and public-house keepers. These associations go by various names, but the most important ones are the National Trade Defence Association, the United Kingdom Alliance, the Brewers' Society, the Licensed Victuallers' National Defence League, the Beer, Spirit, and Wine Trade National Defence League, and the National Trade Council.

Through these various societies the Trade has built up a powerful political organization. In fact, it would be difficult to find an interest anywhere in the world which is better organized and more influential than the so-called Trade in Britain. For many years the liquor interests have felt the necessity of defending themselves against the attacks which were being made upon them with increasing force by reformers; and with the coming of prohibition to America, renewed efforts were made to strengthen the hold which the liquor interests have upon politics. The result has been that the Trade is now more actively engaged in politics than ever before, and at present exercises an influence so great that it is difficult to calculate the strength of it.<sup>18</sup>

The National Trade Defence Association, working in harmony with other parent societies, such as the Licensed Victuallers' Defence League and the Brewers' Society, has been able to organize an army of nearly 100,000 persons who are in some way connected with the Trade. These supporters are properly led, and a ceaseless campaign is carried on against temperance efforts.

---

<sup>18</sup>Consult a little book by Canon Sewell and Arthur G. Barker, entitled "The Drink Trade and the Nation," Bristol, 1927.

Meetings are held, literature is distributed, newspapers are controlled through advertisements, candidates are made indebted to the Trade through generous campaign contributions, and no stone is left unturned to make the position of the Trade as nearly impregnable as possible.<sup>19</sup> The societies of lesser importance are subsidized, and "a vast and organized money power, with unrivalled opportunities for propaganda, is in a state of constant mobilization on the political field."<sup>20</sup>

Lord Astor, who is one of the leading temperance advocates in Britain, has made the statement that "the (Liquor) Trade spend annually £150,000 to £200,000 on political organization. This figure does not include the donations which individual brewers, etc., subscribe to Conservative associations or to certain Labour candidates. One cannot estimate accurately their total. It may be anything from £10,000 to £100,000 additional to the aforementioned £150,000 to £200,000."<sup>21</sup> Certainly this is an enormous sum of money to spend for political purposes, and inasmuch as the statement has never been denied or refuted by the liquor interests, it would appear to represent the truth. Lord Astor offered to present "trained and qualified investigators who are ready to justify the figures," but he has never been called upon to do so. Regardless of whether or not these are the proper figures, it is notorious that the Trade makes enormous contributions both to its own defense associations and to candidates. Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey has said that "the Unionist Party feels the fatal effects of liquor influence in 80 per cent of the constituencies which return its members."<sup>22</sup> One of the liquor publications also wrote one time that "a general election to their trade was a very expensive form of amusement and cost an enormous amount of money."<sup>23</sup>

Since the law of 1918, the Trade organizations cannot themselves spend money on election campaigns without the consent of the agent of some candidate, and, consequently, this type of activity has been eliminated. But there is nothing to prevent

---

<sup>19</sup>See the evidence submitted by Viscount Astor to the Home Office Committee, and separately published by Lord Astor under the title "Disinterested Control."

<sup>20</sup>*Socialist Review*, March, 1926.

<sup>21</sup>*Contemporary Review*, May, 1927, p. 555.

<sup>22</sup>*The Spectator*, June 27, 1925.

<sup>23</sup>*Harper's Gazette*, 1925.

Trade supporters from securing candidates to represent their party who are favorable to the Trade, nor is there anything to prevent them from doing all kinds of political work voluntarily for such candidates. Trade supporters may, of course, make financial contributions to candidates, and may oppose candidates who are not "safe." In the intervals between elections there are no restrictions on their activities, and through regular publications and otherwise they keep up the agitation in favor of drink. Every public house is a sort of headquarters for the trade, and even during elections cards will be hung in prominent places in the public houses urging, in general terms, that "the friends of the Trade vote right."

It is not our purpose here to moralize as to the effect of these activities of the liquor interests upon British politics, although it must be admitted that grave suspicion surrounds certain of their practices.<sup>24</sup> We merely desire to point out that, aside from the expenditures of political parties, there are other expenditures used for political purposes which may possibly equal the former in size and influence, and which, consequently, need as much public attention.

A second group of non-party organizations relate to business and industry. With the great growth in governmental activity, there has been an increasing encroachment upon business. Governmental regulations have multiplied, and there is a constant pressure to have Government enter new spheres of work. It is natural, therefore, that business interests should organize themselves for mutual protection and assistance, and, whenever possible, to exert political pressure to obtain their desires. Probably the most important of these business associations is the Federation of British Industries. This Federation, which is the employers' counterpart to the trade unions, enrolls as its members both trade associations and individual firms. It has a membership of nearly 200 associations and about 2,300 firms, and its yearbook states that the Federation has always abstained from questions of party politics, though "matters within the political sphere which react upon industrial questions are, of course, considered." In the House of Commons, from 1924 to 1929, there were thirty-nine M.P.'s connected with the Federation; that is, who were directors

---

<sup>24</sup>See the opinions of numerous statesmen collected together by Lord Astor and included in evidence submitted by him to a Home Office committee.

of firms belonging to the Federation. A brief review of the Federation's political activities is sufficient to indicate its importance to business interests.<sup>25</sup> There are no records available of the expenditures of this Federation for political purposes, but it is known that there are several Members of Parliament who are generally recognized as agents of the Federation, if not actually financed by it.<sup>26</sup>

In the same group of organizations are found the Mining Association of Great Britain, which represents the mine owners, and the Chamber of Commerce, which represents business men generally. These organizations do not operate like the liquor associations, and they are not organized primarily for political purposes. Undoubtedly they have political influence, but they are not active political associations, spending large sums of money to forward their political interests.

The organizations in the third class are the trade unions. The political fund expenditures of the trade unions amount to from £200,000 to £250,000 a year.<sup>27</sup> This money has to be separately accounted for, but is used by the unions in any way to further their interests. Due to the close connection between the unions and the Labour Party, most, if not all, of the money used by the unions for political purposes goes toward helping the Labour Party. Large contributions are made directly to the party, affiliation fees are paid to the party, and individual unions finance parliamentary candidates either in whole or in part. Furthermore, the trade unions maintain a joint research and publication department with the Labour Party, and have been largely responsible for the only daily newspaper supporting the Labour Party, which is called *The Daily Herald*. The connection with the Labour Party is, therefore, so close that the expenditures of the trade unions are really party expenditures, and not non-party ones. But actually they are

---

<sup>25</sup>I am indebted to the Rt. Hon. Arthur Greenwood for a useful pamphlet prepared by the Labour Party Research and Information Department dealing with the political activities of the Federation of British Industries.

<sup>26</sup>Mr. Snowden declared in the House of Commons that he "did not know if there are in the present House of Commons men who are subsidized by commercial interests, but it has been notorious in previous Parliaments that there have been such men." *Parliamentary Debates, Commons*, vol. 206, col. 2027 (May 25, 1927).

<sup>27</sup>*Report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies*, 1925, part 4, p. 21.

accounted for to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and are not directly controlled by the regular party officials. That is, the trade unions are not permitted to keep their political funds secret, and they reserve to themselves the right of saying when and under what conditions their contributions will be made. One wonders why the law has been so strict as to require a careful accounting of all political expenditures of the trade unions, while at the same time it has permitted equally large political expenditures both by other non-party organizations and by the regular political parties. If accounting and publicity of trade-union political expenditures is a good thing, why is it not also a good thing for all organizations spending money in politics?

Finally, there are in the fourth class a large number of miscellaneous organizations of relatively minor political importance which maintain at least a central office in London and keep up an agitation of some sort either for or against some cause. Their name is legion. Their interests are as diverse as those of man himself. There is the Divorce Law Reform Union, the Liberation Society, the Free Trade League, the National Anti-Vivisection Society, the National Council of Women, the Eugenics Society, and the Proportional Representation Society. These various propagandist societies are not powerful financially nor particularly influential politically.<sup>28</sup> But they keep at their task year in and year out with Christian zeal and determination. Here and there one hears of their direct intervention in political contests, but ordinarily they confine their activities to spreading propaganda about their respective causes.

With regard to most, if not all, of these non-party organizations, it may be observed that they do not indulge in "lobbying" to the same extent as their counterparts in the United States. There is, of course, some lobbying in the British Parliament, but it is not as extensively nor as successfully indulged in as in the American Congress and in the American state legislatures. This may be due to the fact that the more important non-party interests are directly represented in Parliament by members who practically owe their election to them. As long as their interests are directly represented, there is really no need for them to employ lobbyists.

Furthermore, with the two conspicuous exceptions of the liquor societies and the trade unions, the non-party groups in England

---

<sup>28</sup>The P. R. Society spends about £2,400 a year. See P.R. Pamphlet No. 65, May, 1929.

are not as influential as they are in the United States. This is chiefly due to the fact that British parties are stronger and maintain stronger discipline over their members than do political parties in the United States. To all intents and purposes the American legislator is a free agent so far as the demands of his political party upon him are concerned. The party whip cracks occasionally, but it does not enforce the rigid, strict party voting which characterizes the work of the House of Commons. The non-party groups in England must, therefore, operate upon the party, and not upon the individual member, and this is much less satisfactory to them, although much more desirable from the public point of view.

Also, in the United States there are so many matters which, practically speaking, cannot be taken up by political parties because they demand constitutional change. Such a matter is best handled by some non-party group which is outside of the political parties. The winning of prohibition through the efforts of the Anti-Saloon League is the most notable instance. In England, every matter is within the competence of Parliament. Parties may, therefore, advocate anything, and there is not the same need for a non-party group to carry a certain proposal through to enactment. The only need in England for such societies is perhaps to start a matter going and keep it before the public until some party sees fit to take it up. The close identification of the liquor interests with the Conservative Party and of the trade unions with the Labour Party demonstrates how a non-party group must either control or greatly affect the control of a party in order to be successful. It can be influential to a certain extent without bringing pressure to bear upon parties. But it cannot achieve a legislative goal until it either controls a party or convinces it to support its program.

There is another interesting contrast between non-party groups in the two countries. In the United States more money is frequently spent by these groups than is spent by political parties.<sup>20</sup> Again and again one will find that a certain group of importance has collected and expended more money than either, and sometimes both, of the political parties. Over a period of six years after the adoption of national prohibition the Anti-Saloon League

---

<sup>20</sup>See my *Party Campaign Funds*, pp. 55-61.

expended nearly \$13,000,000.<sup>30</sup> Other instances could be multiplied until it becomes clear that the American people contribute more money for such non-party causes than they give directly to political parties. In Britain the reverse is true. Although non-party expenditures, as we have seen, mount to considerable proportions, they do not equal the expenditures of political parties. They are important, but they are not of equal importance as in the United States.

Before concluding this discussion of auxiliary and non-party expenditures it is well to call attention to the manner in which the English law regulates the activities of these organizations during elections. Prior to 1918, one of the most colorful aspects of elections was the posting by these subsidiary political groups of cartoons and advertisements on the hoardings. Such activities added to the gayety of elections, and at least gave the appearance of greater interest. It was a recognized part of the work of an association to intervene directly in political contests in order to assist in the election of candidates who were in favor of the particular association's policy. Large sums were expended in this way, and without any accounting. Many times the results of elections were affected by the intervention of powerful pressure groups. Such political activity was ruled out by the law of 1918, which was amended in 1922.

It is now required that "a person other than the election agent of a candidate shall not incur any expenses on account of holding public meetings or issuing advertisements, circulars, or publications for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of any candidate at a parliamentary election unless he is authorized to do so by such election agent. If any person acts in contravention of this section he shall be guilty of a corrupt practice other than personation within the meaning of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act of 1883. Any expenses incurred on account of any such purpose as aforesaid and authorized by the election agent of the candidate shall be duly returned as part of the candidate's election expenses."<sup>31</sup> In 1922 the following amendment was added: "Where the person guilty of an offense against this section is a body of persons corporate or unincorporate, every

---

<sup>30</sup>*New York Times*, March 28, 1926. See the study of the Anti-Saloon by Peter Odegard, entitled "Pressure Politics."

<sup>31</sup>8 Geo. V., ch. 64, sec. 34.

director or officer of that body shall, unless he proves that the act constituting the offense was committed without his knowledge or consent, be guilty of the like offense."<sup>22</sup>

This stringent provision has had the effect of eliminating from election campaigns the type of activity above referred to. At other times, associations are entirely free. It is also clear that the law is generally observed. Pressure groups send literature and questionnaires to candidates, and they issue some pamphlets of a general nature. But they dare not become particular and recommend a definite candidate, and they dare not spend money in order to help a given candidate without first getting the authorization of the agent. What appeared formerly to be abuses in connection with non-party election activity has thus been eliminated. Incidentally, since non-party groups are now prohibited from spending money themselves in elections so that everyone might know for whom they were working, it would appear to be more necessary for party funds to be made public. If large contributions are now made secretly, it is possible that they might have a greater influence than formerly, and this influence might be of less public advantage.

To summarize, we find in Britain a large number of auxiliary and non-party organizations. They are not as numerous as similar organizations in the United States, nor are they as influential. But several of them have great influence upon the parties, even though they do not indulge in lobbying to the same extent as their counterparts in the United States. They are not permitted by the law to intervene directly in election campaigns, and their expenditures are not as large nor as significant as the expenditures of the regular political parties. The strength of regular party organizations, as well as the nature of the British constitutional system, militate against these groups becoming as powerful as similar ones in the United States, and there is therefore at present no problem in Britain in connection with their regulation or control.

---

<sup>22</sup>12 and 13 Geo. V., ch. 41.

## CLASSIFICATION AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE TENANTRY OF A TEXAS COTTON PLANTATION\*

BY EDWIN A. ELLIOTT  
*Texas Christian University*

The plantation with which this study is concerned is the result of a colonization project promulgated in the early nineties. At this time a league of land (4,428 acres) was bought in a county in the coastal plains of Texas at \$3 per acre, and was sold to colonists for the price of \$10 per acre. Some of the colonists failed to complete payment for their land, and such tracts were bought back by the original holder, who then decided that land put to cultivation was more profitable than that acquired for mere speculative purposes. He therefore bought additional acreage for agricultural use and rented it to tenants on the share basis.

The plantation at present embraces 7,648 acres of land which lies in 29 non-contiguous tracts, ranging in acreage from  $5\frac{1}{4}$  to 2,113 acres. The land is used both for grazing and for farming, the latter portion being divided into 85 farms, distributed in two counties, averaging 50.1 acres each.

The economic activities of the plantation are quite varied, including not only cotton raising and cattle raising, but cotton ginning, cotton marketing, and a system of merchandising.

The data presented in this study were obtained through years of contact with the management of the tenantry of the estate, by means of a questionnaire presented to the tenantry, and by resort to the records and books of the plantation.

### CLASSIFICATION OF TENANTS

*Racial and national groups.*—To the nucleus formed by the first seven Bohemian families who settled on the estate in the era in which it was a colonization project, others of their own nationality were attracted, until today the dominant group in the community is Bohemian. But while these were the first tenants, it was not long after the founder turned his attention to farming before other groups came in. Today there are two races on the

---

\*This paper is adapted from a more comprehensive study of the same estate by the author, entitled *An Economic Survey of a Texas Cotton Plantation as to Tenantry, Tenancy, and Management*, presented as a dissertation to the graduate faculty of The University of Texas, 1930.

estate—white and black. The whites are distributed into national groups as follows: German, 1; Yugoslav, 1; Mexican, 3; Polish, 3; American white, 8; Bohemian, 30. There are 39 Negroes.

*Racial characteristics as they affect farming and landlord's evaluation of respective groups.*—Three of the eight American whites are the very best tenants of the estate. Two of them have been on the estate, respectively, sixteen years, one on the same place all the time; the other has moved once within the estate, but has been on his present place for seven years. The other tenant has been on the estate and on the same farm for five years.

These tenants are usually out of debt and often have a credit balance in their favor. All three have bank accounts at some time during the year, and one of them has a constant balance. Their six head each of work stock is unincumbered. They own, respectively, 1, 4, and 6 milch cows. One of them has 600 chickens and 8 hogs, another has 200 chickens, but no hogs, while the third has 200 chickens, 15 turkeys, and 5 hogs. One of these tenants has moved three times since he has been farming; the other two, each four times. One has farmed all his life, one has tried coal mining, and the other merchandising. Only one has made an attempt at land ownership, but in this he was unsuccessful. They all enjoy the confidence of the landlord so freely that any credit which they desire is extended, and no supervision is exercised over their farming. While they give the least trouble, it takes more to hold them. Their houses must be painted and their farms bigger and better. They each live in a good, substantial house, ceiled, weatherboarded, and screened, and farm, respectively, 60, 75, and 80 acres of the best land on the estate. One has no children living with him on the farm, as they are all of age. The other two have, respectively, three and five, and in each case two children are old enough to assist on the farm. All three hire help from time to time.

The other five American whites on the estate are rated "medium" by the landlord. One of these is referred to as a good man and a good worker, but he is such a poor manager that the extension of credit to him must be watched, as he tends to overbuy. Two of these are rated as good workers, but are "hot-headed," and argue. One of them does not trade at the store of the estate, but is always wanting something. He threatened to leave this year unless a smokehouse is built on the place.

The Bohemians and other Slavs have an exceptionally high rating as a group. Taken as a whole, the landlord considers them his best. They are energetic; the whole family works, even children of four and five years pull weeds in the field, and the women work side by side with their men folk. The Slavic people want things as much as do other groups, but if they do not get them they go ahead and farm just the same—an attitude that is highly desirable from the point of view of the landlord.

When this group becomes prosperous, there is quite a bit of drinking among them, from which some trouble results. Since it is believed that most of the Bohemians on the estate make beverages for their own use, and that some six of them make it for sale, the drink problem is constant. But when sober, this group is the hardest working, most thrifty, and most contented of all the groups. That they also give the least trouble was admitted by the young farm manager, who laughingly said: "As I do not speak Bohemian, I can't talk at all with some of them. Thus it is that we get along so well."

There is but one German on the estate. He is a good farmer and does not give much trouble, although at times the landlord regards him as somewhat unreasonable in demands, and he does not always get all he asks for. In the community are many Germans, but few have ever been tenants on the estate. As a rule, they rent but a short time before buying land.

The Mexicans, of whom there are three on the estate, are in many respects quite desirable; for, with one possible exception, they are thrifty and make good farmers. One has been on the estate for thirteen years, and two for three years each. The one who has been on the estate for thirteen years is leaving this year. During the years he came to own one team of work stock, but rented from the landlord each year three head of mules needed in working his fifty acres. For years he was urged to buy another team, but he refused; last year, instead, he bought a second-hand car. Until that time, according to the farm manager, the Mexican was a good farmer; after that he would not farm.

One Mexican farmed at first on the halves, but, having bought teams on time, he is now working on a one-third and one-fourth basis. When the other, his brother, came to the estate three years ago, he had one team, but bought two others, which he has paid for; in addition, he has kept his account at the store clear. This Mexican, after immigrating from Mexico in 1903, had farmed at

Ramsey, Texas, for twenty years or more before coming to the estate.

The Mexicans do not speak English, and the farm manager speaks Spanish only to a limited degree but, building on his foundation of two years of college Spanish, he is improving by practice. Even lack of this contact has its advantages in the eyes of the manager.

Since I do not speak Spanish so well, when they ask me for something I can't give them or do not want them to have, or do not desire to sell to them on credit, I say to them "No sabe." One day one asked me for some hay. I replied, "No sabe." The Mexican went on and within a few hours he came back with some hay in his hand to show me what it was he wanted. That earned for him a few bales.

The Mexican possesses several desirable characteristics. One in his ability to get with ease all the "help" he needs, even when everyone else is short of cotton pickers and cannot get them for love nor money. For the Mexican help seems to "spring from nowhere," as the farm manager expresses it. Another thing in his favor, from the viewpoint of the estate, is that by adjusting his living standard to his allowances, he does not try to overstep his monthly limit of \$15 and \$25 for groceries at the store. The Mexican habit of attending to his own business, and allowing all others the same privilege, is another characteristic which has made him desirable on the cotton farms of Texas. One reason for the replacement of the Negro with the Mexican on the large plantations of the Corpus Christi area and the Brazos bottom farms was succinctly stated to Mr. L. P. Gabbard, of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, by one of the planters as follows: "The Mexican does not try to tell me how to run by own business, and the Negro does."

In spite of his tendency to volunteer advice to the management, the Negro group is obviously the most colorful on the estate. Although they are in many ways the most troublesome, they are also the most interesting, and some of them are "worth their weight in gold," not only as workers but because of the quaint philosophy and the good humor they so often express.

Some of this group are as dependable as any on the estate. A typical character is the old cattle foreman, who has been working on the estate for thirty years, first as a "hand," then as a cattle foreman, and later, after he became too old to ride, as a farmer of twenty acres of cotton and four of corn. He has 3 milch cows,

11 horses and mules, 13 hogs, 100 chickens, 8 geese, and 10 turkeys, and ample equipment to work his small acreage. At one time, when he was asked by the founder if he thought he would ever be able to pay out his indebtedness of \$1,997, his reply was, "If I can't, I'll report to your gate every morning," meaning that he would work for him every day. There is a close bond between the old Negro and the children of the founder; for, as he proudly said: "These children all grew up under me. I taught all the boys how to ride and how to work cattle." He feels free to give advice generously. When the eldest son, who had taken over the management of the store, went about the business of collecting accounts among the colored brethren, the old "darky" delivered himself of this bit of wisdom: "Handle him with a velvet paw when he is in your debt."

Many of the Negroes have been on the estate for years. Some live now as tenants on places they once tried to buy. Some of the Negroes' farms are never visited at all by the farm manager until time to make a survey of the corn land; to others, of course, the most careful supervision must be given.

One picturesque area on the estate is that known as "the colony," in which most of the Negroes live. The land is good, and crops, if made anywhere, are made here. In this domain of the Negroes they are almost a law unto themselves. Among them are good ones—some of the best on the estate—but also a few of the worst seem to get there. In "the colony" the Negroes are quite class conscious; more so here than anywhere in the county. The writer could feel it as he worked among them making the survey necessary to this study. There is usually a "bully," or sometimes two, in the area. One is leaving this year, after having his team and equipment attached for failure to make adjustment of his account. The farm manager expected trouble when he went for the mortgaged property, but fortunately, since no other Negroes were around to acclaim his prowess or witness his surrender, the "bully" was as meek as a lamb, in spite of threats and boasts he had made as to what he would do. This Negro, who had won the name of "Tush Hog," was one of the prize "bullies," and was so feared throughout "the colony" that he was its master for the three years he was there.

"The colony," while eight miles from headquarters, is connected with it by a dirt road. The tenants of this area, as all others, are required by the rental contract to gin their cotton at

the town of the headquarters. Both the founder and his son, the present farm manager, have been certain for years that much cotton raised in "the colony" never reached headquarters and never became a part of the revenue of the estate. Only two have been caught in the theft of cotton, while some half-dozen others have been strongly suspected. As a rule, due to fear of being "burned out" by the accused, the Negroes will tell on one another only when they themselves become angry with the culprit. One Negro among them, who is exceptionally reliable, has given valuable information, but another Negro has threatened to shoot him for being a "stool pigeon."

It is alleged that much of remnant cotton, from which the landlord receives no rent, is sold. The story goes that some Negro will start the steal by putting his remnant in his wagon, and then, by going from place to place among the other Negroes whom he can "trust," and buying their cotton at a figure below the market price, he accumulates a bale, which is then hauled off to a nearby market, where it is sold in the seed. Those from whom he bought are willing to sell below the market price, for they avoid paying the landlord his fourth as rent. This cotton is not ginned for fear the landlord, who goes carefully over the records of all gins in the area, will discover the bale and the name of the one who had it ginned. As carefully as the farm manager may ride "the colony," some such practice goes on each year; the bigger the crop, the more it goes on, for they think a few bales taken out here and there will not be missed. It is interesting to watch how news spreads among the Negroes of "the colony." The farm manager, having heard of something having gone wrong, will ride unannounced to what he regards as the most unexpected point, and at the most unexpected time; but, seemingly from nowhere, he says, the Negroes come, all courteous, but none of them knowing anything about anything that has happened. "Mum" is the word among them.

The Negro works his whole family. Some of them may be lazy, but all work, and some of them are seemingly untiring. Although at times they make their wants known, they will put up with poor housing conditions. Due to their race and the traditional attitude toward them, it seems a little easier to refuse them than the other groups. Some so-called "smart ones" among them do tell the farm manager what he should do to make the estate successful, but usually such advice is not appreciated. One

Negro who had been on a good farm on the estate for eleven years—an excellent farmer who is easy to handle when not too prosperous—was told, after he had delivered himself of uncomplimentary remarks concerning the housing situation on the estate, that he might leave if he was not satisfied. He is still on the estate.

"Leaving by moonlight" is a method frequently resorted to by the Negro, more often than by others, in settling his account. Not having accumulated anything, in time of adversity he is easily discouraged, and often feels that he can leave the estate to get out of his incumbered teams and his incumbered crop what it can, while he departs unannounced.

The women folk among the Negroes are the source of more discontent than the men, particularly if the woman has had any education. One wife, a high-school graduate who had had four children within five years after her marriage to a tenant, who reported no books, newspapers, or magazines in the house, and no means of transportation, gave expression freely to her disgust for the country and her desire to live in the city. Can we wonder?

Although, as has been pointed out, the tenants, with few exceptions, are put on a monthly credit allowance, it is difficult to keep some of them from overstepping the allowance. Too many, like children, use up their whole allowance the first part of the month and then go hungry the other days. Here, again, the traditional attitude toward the race helps to make it easier to deny expansion to them rather than to the other groups.

It can, however, be said in the Negro's favor that he forgets his troubles easily. He may have to starve during part of one year, but if he makes a crop at all, he forgets both the hardships of the past and his grudge against the manager for not letting him have more credit. As a rule, he takes great pride in paying his account in full, and will never let you forget that he did so. In big crop years, when probably half his crop pays his account at the store, and all the other bales, except the one-fourth rent due the landlord, are "velvet" to him, he can be seen joking, laughing, and spending freely, without a care in the world. The trouble he has caused is forgiven at the sight of his extreme happiness, which all too often is again cut short by too much or too little rain, or too many boll weevils. Such is his life, but he goes merrily on; sometimes more and sometimes less so, but always cheerfully.

*Age.*—Information regarding their age was obtained from 69 of the 85 tenants. The youngest, aged 24, was found to be among the Negroes, as was also the oldest, age 74. The modal age of all the tenants who answered the question is 42.2 years. The age distribution of all the tenants, and by groups, is shown in the table below.

TABLE 1  
Age Distribution of Tenants on Estate, and the Frequency in Each Group Listed

Class Limit	All Tenants	Mexicans	American Whites	Bohemians, Germans, Polish	Negroes
24-28	7	—	—	4	4
29-33	8	—	1	3	5
34-38	11	—	2	3	5
39-43	8	—	—	3	4
44-48	13	—	3	3	7
49-53	5	—	1	2	2
54-58	7	1	1	4	1
59-63	8	1	—	2	4
64-68	1	1	—	1	—
69-71	—	—	—	—	—
74-78	1	—	—	—	1
Total	69	3	8	24	33

In selecting tenants their age is seldom asked, but always the inquiry is made as to the number of children and their ages. Since it is the middle-aged farmer who would, under ordinary circumstances, have about the size of family needed to work the average farm, which is 50.1 acres, the modal age of the tenant is kept around 42.2 years by the landlord to insure a sufficient number of workers on each place.

*Previous occupations.*—In answer to the question, "What previous occupations have you engaged in?" it was found that all of the tenants had not given their entire lives to farming, but that 25 out of the 72 answering the question had, at one time or another, tried other employment, some of them having engaged in as many as three different kinds of work. These different activities and the number engaged in them were: Railroading, 8; livestock industry, 5; common labor in cities, 4; skilled electrician, 1; coal mining, 1; mercantile business, 3; oil field work, 1; dairying, 1; engine shop, 1; preaching, 1; saloon keeping, 1.

#### AGRICULTURAL HISTORY OF TENANTS

*Agricultural experience and training.*—The modal number of years of agricultural experience per tenant is 16.6. From their

environment they have drawn their meager knowledge, for it was found that the fathers of all but one were farmers, and that not only their boyhood but their lives had, in the main, been spent in farming. This is traditional, not technical training; yet from it the brighter ones who have been observant have, in a measure, profited. Environment and experience have been their only teachers.

*Attempts at land ownership.*—The table below indicates the status of land ownership or the attempts at such by the tenants of the estate.

TABLE 2  
Percentage of Land Ownership Among Tenants of Estate

	Per Cent
Percentage of tenants attempting land ownership, but who failed to complete contract	12
Percentage of those on estate now owning land outright or jointly with wife	6
Percentage of those owning town or city lots outright or with wife	9

#### ATTITUDE OF TENANT TOWARD FARM LIFE

*Prospect of permanency.*—The prospect of continuing in the business of farming is viewed with confidence by practically all. The family of one Negro who is satisfied himself, but whose wife said, "I'd like to live in town, for I'm sick of the country, for it's hard work, and always you are uncertain whether you will make anything," is nevertheless renting again this year. The four Negroes who reported that they were not planning on farming permanently, had in mind no specific occupation in which they might engage. One Negro, who said he would farm the rest of his life, expressed the conviction that "You can't make anything working for wages." The intention of permanently remaining farmers was unanimously expressed by the American whites, the tenants of foreign nationality, and those of foreign extraction.

#### ECONOMIC STATUS OF TENANTS

*Productive factors. (1) Acreage.*—Among the questions asked a prospective tenant are: "How many work stock have you, and what is their condition?" and "What is the size of your family, and how many of them help you on the farm?"

The relation between acreage and labor force, both human and animal, and farm equipment, is shown in the following table, which presents the findings on nine farms selected at random.

TABLE 3

Representative Sample Farmstead, Showing Relation of Acreage to Labor Force and Equipment

Farm	Acre- age	Tenant	Number Workers in Family	Work Stock	Walking Plows	Harrows, Tractor, Planters, Cultivators
A	75	Negro_____	7	7	2	3H, 2P, 2C
B	75	Negro_____	6	7	2	1H, 2P, 2C
C	35	Bohemian _____	3	3	1	2H, 1P, 1C
D	55	Negro_____	4	4	3	1H, 2P, 2C
E	60	Negro_____	6	7	2	1H, 1P, 2C
F	60	Bohemian _____	5	6	3	1H, 1P, 2C
G	25	Negro_____	4	4*	1	1P, 2C
H	78	Amer. White_____	9	8	0	1H, 1P, 2C†
I	50	Mexican_____	3	0‡	2	1H, 1P, 1C

\*Poor condition. †Tractor. ‡Rented teams.

Some farms are worked by tenants, such as two of the best American whites, who have no working force in the family other than themselves. These tenants, each of whom works over sixty acres, have good equipment and six work stock. They regularly employ hired help as the season demands. Since they have sufficient funds to do this, the estate does not have to risk further credit, as would be necessary if a large acreage were rented to an average tenant with a small-family working force.

It frequently happens in the case of tenants who have been on the estate for many years that when the size of the family is diminished, either by death or the scattering of the children, that they remove to farmsteads of smaller acreage; but some few of them prefer to remain on the same place and hire labor to assist in working the larger acreage. If the tenant is reliable, has the required number of work stock, and has accumulated property sufficient to relieve the estate of undue risk in advancing funds to employ labor, then the tenant is permitted to work the larger acreage.

*Equipment.*—Sixty-nine tenants gave data concerning farm equipment, such as riding and walking plows, cultivators, planters, harrows, wagons, and tractors, owned by each. Not every tenant owned each of these items. The total value of the equipment owned by all of the tenants, according to their estimate, was \$10,097.50, or an average of \$146.34 per tenant; but the writer has reason to believe that some of the tenants did not make a full rendition.

TABLE 4

Farm Equipment Reported by Tenants—An Average of 55 Tenants on the Various Items

	Trac- tor	Truck	Wagons	Plows	Culti- vators	Harrows	Planters
Number _____	1	1	63	102	100	49	48
Value* _____	\$100	\$150	\$2,520	\$1,020	\$4,250	\$617.50	\$1,440

\*Estimated.

Two tenants reported borrowing equipment; one borrowed all he used. A tenant who comes to the estate poorly equipped may buy tools and plows from the general store on time by paying the usual 10 per cent interest rate. Usually the estate has on hand some used tools and equipment taken in on account or taken over from the farms of those who leave "by moonlight." The farm manager usually finds ready sale at second-hand prices for all such equipment to his own tenants.

The distribution of equipment among the different racial groups of tenants was approximately equal, the size of the farm being the chief determinant of the amount of equipment on hand. The condition of the equipment owned by the three most progressive American whites and by the Bohemians was, in the main, superior to that of the other tenants.

*Work stock, other cattle, and poultry.*—On the estate are 343 work stock owned by the 69 tenants reporting, and distributed among the tenant groups as follows:

TABLE 5

Ownership of Work Stock by Tenant Groups

Number of Tenants	Work Stock Owned
32 Negroes _____	165
26 Bohemians and others _____	122
3 Mexicans _____	12
8 American whites _____	44
69	343

The estimated total of this stock is \$27,440, while the average value of work stock owned per tenant is \$310.72. The horses range in value from \$30 to \$75, and the mules from \$75 to \$125. On all this stock there is a total incumbrance of \$2,682.50. Of the 18 tenants who owe on work stock, 14 are Negroes, 2 are Mexicans, 1 American white, and 1 Bohemian. The smallest amount owed is \$37.50; the largest amount is \$340.

Some few of the tenants who do not desire to buy a team, or those who lose work stock during the year, often rent from the estate a team at \$40 a year, or a single mule or horse at \$25. Two tenants are working borrowed animals.

Livestock, other than work stock, consists of breed stock, calves, hogs, and milch cows. Of horses and colts, other than work stock, there are 10, valued at \$560. The approximate evaluation of 63 calves, at \$12 to \$20, is \$1,008. The actual value of the 277 hogs and pigs on the estate could have been secured only by weighing them, but, in order to arrive at an estimate, the farm manager assigned to each head an arbitrary value of \$12.50, at which rate the total value would be \$3,462.50. Of these, 111 were owned by 24 Bohemians, 128 by 31 Negroes, 36 by American whites, and 2 by the Mexicans.

Milch cows owned by the tenants totaled 104; these, valued at \$35 to \$55 per head, represent \$4,420. Of the 75 tenants who reported on owning cows, 26 had none, while among the 49 owners the distribution was as follows: Twenty Bohemians had 52, 21 Negroes had 28, 7 American white tenants owned 23, and 1 Mexican had 1. Three of those not owning cows had availed themselves of the estate's plan of lending milch cows, simply requiring that they be properly fed. The need of family cows was evident in many cases. One white family with 9 children, the oldest only 14 years of age, and a Negro family with 4 children, the oldest of whom was 5 years of age, were without a cow to supply the needed milk.

Poultry is common to almost every tenant farmstead, as only 3, 1 a Negro and the other 2 Bohemians, of the 65 who reported had no poultry on the place. Owned by the tenants on the estate there are 5,708 chickens, 126 turkeys, 18 geese, and 3 ducks, whose total estimated value is \$3,154.20. The distribution of the poultry owned by the different tenant groups appears in the following table:

TABLE 6  
Distribution of Ownership of Poultry

Tenants	Chickens	Turkeys	Geese	Ducks
1 German	200	—	—	—
23 Bohemians and others	2,000	43	10	3
33 Negroes	2,078	68	8	—
1 Mexican	35	—	—	—
8 American white	1,395	15	—	—
Total	5,708	126	18	3

Although some milk and poultry are sold from the farms, the amount of milk and butter sold is negligible; but often a tenant reported selling \$25 to \$50 worth of eggs and poultry per year. One reported selling \$150 worth of eggs and chickens a year, and another \$100 worth of turkeys. One of the three best tenants on the estate has 600 chickens, and flocks of 150 are quite common.

*Resources owned, unincumbered and incumbered.*—The estimated value of the resources of the tenants, exclusive of household equipment, personal property, automobiles, and cash, is presented below.

TABLE 7  
Summarized Statement of Certain Assets of Tenants

Property	Value (estimated)	Average Value Per Tenant	Number Tenants Reporting Ownership
Farm equipment	\$10,097.50	\$146.34	69
Work stock	27,440.00	397.68	69
Other stock	560.00	140.00	4
Calves	1,008.00	28.80	35
Cows	4,420.00	90.20	49
Poultry	3,154.20	50.88	62
Hogs	3,462.50	54.09	64
	\$50,142.20		

The total indebtedness against these items, as taken from the records of the estate, amounts to \$3,337.50, showing the net value of the assets to be \$46,804.70. The average net value of the assets owned per tenant is \$850.90.

*Labor force.*—Among the assets of the tenant, his labor force is not to be overlooked, although in the hard years it is a liability to him; for the maintenance of his labor force, which is in the main his family, must go on whether he is able to utilize its services regularly or not.

Sixty-four tenants gave information on the question of the labor force found in the family. Of these, 5 whites, 21 Bohemians, 19 Negroes, 1 Mexican, and 1 German, a total of 47, reported using in the fields children who ranged in age from 4 years to the 'teens. One Bohemian boasted that his little 4-year-old son had picked 300 pounds of the cotton of the bale then on his wagon. The following table shows the frequency of the use of various numbers of children on forty-three farms:

TABLE 8

## The Use of Child Labor on the Farms

Number of tenants using 1 child	on farm	17
" " " " 2 children	" "	6
" " " " 3 " "	" "	6
" " " " 4 " "	" "	4
" " " " 5 " "	" "	4
" " " " 6 " "	" "	4
" " " " 7 " "	" "	2
" " " " 8 " "	" "	0
" " " " 9 " "	" "	2

The wage of these children is their maintenance, and on what kind of a wage this is, the tables of income given on the following pages speak eloquently.

Maintenance is the wage paid the wife, but that her duties are not, by any means, limited to the realm of the housewife is indicated by the fact that two tenants referred to their wives as "hands." "Hands" they are, indeed, for they do the plowing, cotton chopping, woodcutting, and even driving the cotton to the gin, although sometimes, especially when there is cotton in the field to be picked, the latter requires the skillful technique of the man. One of the eight whites, two of the three Mexicans, all but two of the Negroes, and all the Bohemians and other foreigners demand that their wives work in the field.

Labor is necessarily hired by tenants whose families are small, but the farm manager endeavors, in renting, to coördinate, when possible, the acreage to the size of the tenant's family. Then, too, a tenant, as is the case with two of the whites, may be an excellent manager but have no family working force. He must, of course, hire labor, not only to assist in chopping and picking, but in the cultivation.

Seventeen of the tenants reported hiring labor in amounts ranging from \$3 to \$150, to assist in work other than cotton picking or chopping. Of the total amount paid out, \$683.50, nine of the tenants reported amounts of \$25 and less.

Almost without exception, money paid out for hired labor is borrowed from the estate. In 1929, five of the tenants drew, in amounts ranging from \$13.75 to \$92.03, \$317.68 in cash to pay cotton choppers.

The extra cotton-picking hands are, in the main, casual Mexican laborers, who, however, are sometimes scarce, particularly if the cotton in the area is late; for then Central and West Texas are bidding for pickers, and somehow the Mexicans like to go west.

But no matter how difficult it may be for other tenants to get hands, the Mexicans on the place easily get all the help of this type that they need.

*Money income to tenants from cotton.*—For almost all of the tenants cotton is the money crop. Upon the income derived from it the tenant depends for the maintenance of himself and family, and by it he gauges his standard of living. Fluctuation in either crop or price brings weal or woe to him and his dependents.

The records of the estate contain, with few exceptions, every payment on cotton which the tenants have received. No matter who buys the cotton, the amount of money received for each bale from each farm is recorded. From these records, two studies of tenant income have been made, the results of which are presented in the following pages. The first concerns itself with a group of eight tenants who, with one exception, have been on the same farm for a successive period of years. The second study considers the money income from cotton received during a period of seven years by the tenants of forty-seven farms, regardless of their occupancy by any particular tenant; that is, the yearly share paid to tenants from the sale of cotton from forty-seven of the tenant farms is given.

Tenants selected for the first study are, save Tenant B, a Mexican, those of continued residence on a given farm. While the incomes of those tenants who had been on the estate for the longest periods of years would have been of interest, the incomes would have been less comparable, for often those tenants moved from farm to farm within the estate. Eight tenants have, therefore, been selected—two Bohemians, one Mexican, three American whites, and two Negroes—whose incomes are presented for periods of from four to fifteen years.

The first tenant whose income is studied is a Bohemian, born in Europe, whose age in 1929 was 42. He is married, and his three children assist him on the farm. He works 48 acres of cotton, 5 of corn, and 2 of cane. In addition to caring for his 2 milch cows and calves, 7 work stock, 5 hogs, 50 chickens, and 4 ducks and geese, he raises a garden. He owns a Ford car, a wagon, a walking plow, two cultivators, one harrow, and two planters. He reports no sale of livestock, poultry, etc., to supplement his money income, but does report having "worked out" some, without stating the amount of money derived from that source. In 1927 he had to buy all of the feed for his stock. He

does not have a bank account, and for the year 1928 he paid \$63.31 cash for rent of corn land. The books of the store of the estate show his account to be \$422.08, as of August 1, 1929. His income, year by year, from 1914 through 1928, was as follows:

TABLE 9

Record of Tenant A's Income from 48 Acres of Cotton, 1914-1928

Year	Total Money Income in Dollars	Per Cent of Income of Previous Year
1914	\$ 387.31	
1915	135.25	35
1916	236.90	175
1917	480.00	203
1918	625.00	130
1919	65.00	10
1920	180.00	277
1921	51.88	29
1922	605.00	1,147
1923	320.00	53
1924	690.72	216
1925	662.94	96
1926	1,354.47	204
1927	1,509.63	111
1928	1,725.00	114

Of greatest interest in this table are the variations in the income of this tenant from year to year. The highest income was \$1,725, in 1928, while the lowest was \$51.88, in 1921. For eight years of the fifteen the income was less than \$500 per year. Of the seven years which yielded an income higher than \$500, four of the years ranged not more than \$190.72 above that amount, while in the three years of greatest income the excess above the \$500 ranged from \$854.47 to \$1,225.

The mean income per year for the fifteen years was \$616. The standard deviation from year to year from the mean was \$434. Considering the income of each year successively as 100 per cent, we find the smallest variation between 1924 and 1925, when it was 4 per cent. The greatest variation is found between 1921 and 1922, when it was 1,047 per cent.

The purchasing power of the income of Tenant A from 1914 to 1928, using 1914 as the base, is shown in Table 12.

These figures indicate that for eight years of the fifteen-year period it was below the base year. Seven of these years were in succession, 1915 inclusive of 1921. In 1922 the purchasing power of his receipts rose to 104, only to fall to 53 in 1923. With 1924

and onward, his purchasing power rose with his increasing monetary income. Taking the span of fifteen years year by year, we find this tenant not only at a disadvantage in actual monetary returns, but we find him at a disadvantage in purchasing power.

TABLE 10

Relation of the Income of Tenant A to the Price Level

Year	Income in Dollars	Index of Income 1914=100	Price Index*	Purchasing Power of Income
1914	\$ 387.31	100	98	100
1915	135.25	34	101	33
1916	236.90	61	127	48
1917	480.00	121	177	68
1918	625.00	161	194	83
1919	65.00	16	206	7
1920	180.00	46	226	20
1921	51.88	13	147	8
1922	605.00	156	149	104
1923	320.00	82	154	53
1924	690.72	179	150	119
1925	662.94	171	159	107
1926	1,354.47	352	151	233
1927	1,509.03	392	147	266
1928	1,725.00	445	149	298

\*Data on price index obtained from Bureau of Labor Statistics, wholesale price of all commodities, recorded in *The Statistical Abstract of the United States*, U.S.D.C., 1928, p. 324, and *Bulletin of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics*, No. 493, p. 12.

In comparison with the income of this tenant, that of a Mexican, Tenant B, 59 years of age, who lived for years in Mexico, will be studied. He is married and has five children, three of whom aid him on the farm. He has been on the estate for thirteen years and has moved twice within the estate, but data concerning the acreage of the previously occupied farms is not available. To work the farm which he now occupies, he rents one team from the estate and owns one team. He has one milch cow, 35 chickens, and no hogs, but owns 1 Ford car, a wagon and buggy, 2 walking plows, 1 cultivator, 1 harrow, and 1 planter. He has sold no livestock or poultry during the year; does not work outside for wages, but does have a garden. On August 1, 1928, the books of the estate showed the following charges against him:

Corn rent	\$28.44
Two cords of wood	16.50
Hay	40.64
Rent on team of mules	40.00
Interest	5.71

The income which he has received from cotton for the last thirteen years is presented below :

TABLE 11  
Record of Tenant B's Income from Cotton, 1915-1927  
(Moved twice within estate during this period)

Year	Total Money Income in Dollars	Per Cent of Income of Previous Year
1915	\$ 318.00	-----
1916	1,464.00	460
1917	1,794.00	122
1918	1,400.00	78
1919	245.00	17
1920	837.00	341
1921	90.00	11
1922	351.00	390
1923	903.00	257
1924	1,284.75	142
1925	1,059.51	82
1926	665.07	63
1927	1,118.76	168

The mean income per year of Tenant B from his cotton for the thirteen years was \$904, with a standard deviation from the mean of \$360 per year. Considering each year successively as 100 per cent, the lowest variation was between 1924 and 1925, at which time it was 18 per cent; the greatest was between 1921 and 1922, when it was 290 per cent. The two previous periods were characterized, one by a variation of 89 per cent, and the previous one by a variation of 241 per cent. Let us now examine the purchasing power of his income for the period studied.

TABLE 12  
Relation of the Income of Tenant B to the Price Level, 1915-1927

Year	Income in Dollars	Index of Income 1915 = 100	Price Index	Purchasing Power of Income
1915	\$ 318.00	100	101	99
1916	1,464.00	460	127	362
1917	1,794.00	564	177	311
1918	1,400.00	440	194	228
1919	245.00	77	206	37
1920	837.00	263	226	116
1921	90.00	28	147	19
1922	351.00	110	149	74
1923	903.00	287	154	186
1924	1,284.75	404	150	267
1925	1,059.51	333	159	209
1926	665.07	209	151	138
1927	1,118.76	352	147	239

The purchasing power of Tenant B's income shows only three years to be below the base year. From the point of 99 in 1915, it

spurts upward to 362 in 1916, falls to 311 in 1917, and to 228 in 1918, and tumbles to 37 in 1919. Then an upward turn comes in 1920, only to fall to 19, the lowest level of the whole period, the next year. A climb upward is made for the next three successive years, but it recedes for the next two, and rebounds upward for the last year, 1927. As to purchasing power, this tenant was in fairly good position for the period, though the three low years came inconveniently close together.

In order to avoid detail, the income of the other tenants studied will be presented in tabular form. These tenants will be designated as C, D, E, F, G, and H.

TABLE 13  
Summary of Income of Tenants C, D, E, F, G, and H

Tenant	Acres	Year	Money Income	Percentage of Previous Year
C	45	1920	\$ 801.60	
		1921	175.00	22
		1922	867.00	495
		1923	999.00	115
		1924	1,421.82	142
		1925	880.00	62
		1926	1,310.82	149
		1927	453.06	35
		1928	1,224.00	270
D	52	1922	1,402.22	
		1923	1,490.85	106
		1924	1,740.00	117
		1925	1,560.00	89
		1926	642.00	41
		1927	3,301.14	514
		1928	1,851.84	56
E	60	1922	895.86	
		1923	1,468.59	164
		1924	513.24	35
		1925	786.27	153
		1926	1,328.82	169
		1927	1,009.11	76
		1928	2,273.82	225
F	50	1925	1,485.99	
		1926	2,207.55	149
		1927	1,803.30	82
		1928	2,028.48	112
G	34	1924	1,535.94	
		1925	1,431.99	93
		1926	593.16	41
		1927	1,308.00	221
		1928	1,269.36	97
H	25	1923	723.78	
		1924	431.31	59
		1925	906.03	210
		1926	385.38	42
		1927	135.18	35
		1928	299.52	229

In reviewing the income situation among the tenants, it should be noted that the years 1919, 1921, and 1922, particularly the first two of these, were years of exceedingly low yields in the counties wherein the estate lies, the crop in 1921 being only 8 per cent of the normal. The low price and a none too large yield affected income in 1920. In 1926, while the yield was above normal, the advantage was about equalized by the price being somewhat lower. Nineteen twenty-eight, when 125,816 bales were produced, was the greatest production year in the history of the two counties, and, happily, the price during the production season hovered around 19 cents. In order that the variation in the income of the individual tenant may be better understood, the total cotton production figures for the two counties in which the estate lies, and the yearly average prices of cotton for the years 1917-1928, are given in the following table:

TABLE 14

Cotton Production in Two Counties in Which the Estate Lies, and  
Yearly Average Prices of Cotton, 1917-1928

Year	*Production in County A (in bales)	Production in County B (in bales)	†Average Price Ten Markets Combined (in cents)
1917	38,674	46,722	29.02
1918	50,481	61,266	29.76
1919	9,036	11,557	38.34
1920	19,337	23,491	16.66
1921	3,740	5,410	18.09
1922	21,079	22,314	25.83
1923	24,642	34,612	30.14
1924	35,050	40,757	24.22
1925	40,766	50,416	19.68
1926	40,059	38,260	14.40
1927	42,106	49,623	19.72
1928	61,283	64,533	‡19.00

\**Texas Almanac*, 1929 edition, pp. 100-104.

†*Year Book of Agriculture*, U.S.D.A., 1928, p. 851.

‡Estimated.

From these figures it can clearly be seen that while the variation in income from year to year is not limited to individuals, but is general in the county, yet it is the wide deviation in the yearly income of each tenant which brings the tragedy of the situation into clear relief. In the cases of Tenant A and Tenant B, whose recorded incomes for fifteen and thirteen years, respectively, warrant the drawing of conclusions, we find a deviation in the income of the first of \$434, and of \$360 for the second.

Irregularity of income is the striking characteristic brought out by this whole analysis, which seems to indicate, further, that certainty of income is out of the question. Periods of privation have, however, certainly been prolonged. The situation of Tenant A, whose income in the years 1919, 1920, and 1921, was, respectively, \$65, \$180, and \$51.88, can only be appreciated when it is remembered that in one of the preceding five years he received only \$135, while his largest income during that time was \$625. The mean income, upon which the standard of living of his family depended, was, for fifteen years, \$616.

A brief consideration of the incomes of the second group of tenants reveals conditions but slightly more hopeful. Here we are concerned with the incomes of forty-seven tenant farms from cotton over the seven-year period of 1923 to 1929. Since the tenants occupying these farms comprise both those who have moved from time to time within the estate, and also those who have been on the same farm since 1923, the table below, which presents the average income per year per tenant farm, together with the percentages indicating the variations in income from year to year, presents a cross-section view of the income of a large group and an idea of the actual cash returns of the average tenant farm.

TABLE 15  
Average Yearly Income Per Tenant of Forty-seven Tenant Farms,  
1923-1929

Year	Average Income in Dollars	Percentage of Previous Year
1923	\$1,001.67	-----
1924	1,021.30	101.9
1925	1,241.42	121.5
1926	823.35	66.3
1927	1,009.24	122.5
1928	1,490.12	147.7
1929	196.02	13.1

From 1923 to 1928, with the exception, possibly, of 1926, the tenants enjoyed a period of prosperity known as the "good years." In 1929, in which the shortest crop in the history of the estate was produced, the average income tumbled from \$1,490.12 to a new low level of \$196.02—a figure 13.1 per cent of the income of the previous year. Whatever degree of comfort had been attained by the average income of the group from 1923 to 1928, which was approximately \$1,090, was doubtless severely affected by the low income of \$196.02, each, in 1929. Even in the period of so-called

"good years," i.e., 1923-1928, such variations took place as from 1.9 per cent to 47.7 per cent above in the respective years 1923-1924 and 1927-1928, to a drop from 121.5 per cent in 1924-1925, to 66.3 per cent from 1925 to 1926.

Had the bad crop year of 1929 not occurred, this group of tenants, with their average income of \$1,090 from 1923 to 1928, would have compared favorably with that of industrial workers, whose average in 1926 was estimated to be \$1,280<sup>1</sup>; but it is only in years of extreme unemployment that an industrial worker faces such a variation in income as was experienced by the tenants in 1929.

From these studies of the incomes of the tenants, which also reflect the income of the landlord, it can clearly be seen that variation in income is common to both. It is obvious that these variations work hardships on both. To one it is a struggle for a standard of living, or all too often a struggle for mere subsistence. In the periods of low levels in income the tenants depend upon the estate for maintenance, while the estate, on the other hand, depends upon its accumulated or borrowed resources in order to meet the needs of the tenants. Sometimes the tenant gives up the struggle and goes to the city to try his hand at daily labor, but, in the main, he stays with the land. The landlord at times jeopardizes the resources and borrowing power of the estate to keep a flow of supplies moving to the maintenance not only of his tenants but to other hard-pressed farmers of the community, as was the case in 1920, 1921, and 1922, when the whole area suffered successive depressions.

*Income from labor away from own farm.*—To some extent enterprising tenants have managed to supplement their incomes by labor outside their own farms. Since the seasonal nature of farm work makes it necessary, in the main, for every tenant to be busy about the farm at the same time, the opportunity for gainful labor on the farms of others is lessened. Agricultural diversification is not sufficiently developed in the area, nor is industry present to create a continuous labor demand. Even such major crops as rice are still too undeveloped to offset the loss to the community as a whole, in the event of the failure of the cotton crop, for in this vicinity "cotton is king."

---

<sup>1</sup>Report of Secretary Herbert Hoover, United States Department of Commerce, January, 1927.

Some of the tenants, however, do earn a supplementary wage; for of the 75 tenants who replied to the question as to income from labor outside their own farms, 24 reported receiving such income. Of these, 15 were Negroes, 7 were Bohemians, 1 was German, and 1 American white. Four of the Negroes and one Bohemian simply answered that they made "some" money by "working out," but did not state either the nature of the employment nor the amount of their earnings. One Negro reported having earned \$10; two others, \$15 each; another reported \$14.50, while one earned \$80. Four Negroes reported that their children joined them in working outside. One reported only \$14.50 earned by himself and family in working for others; one reported \$50 earned by children in picking cotton; and another had earned \$25 himself, while his children earned an equal amount chopping cotton for others. One Bohemian reported earning some money working in the hayfield, and one reported working in the rice fields. One Negro earned "some" money cutting cordwood, while another earned \$150 preaching. One Bohemian earned \$500 during the year this study was made, by doing carpenter work. One Negro reported earning \$650, and another \$300, working with cattle on the estate. One American white reported as "making good money" trading in livestock, but the amount was not reported. A Bohemian reported earning \$100 for the year, "doing first one thing and then the other." One Negro has a wife who earns \$4 per week washing for the families of two of the sons of the owner of the estate. Of the total cash earnings of \$1,934 reported, three tenants had earned \$1,450.

*Extent of self-sufficiency.*—Of the 70 tenants who answered the question relative to gardens and poultry, 56 have both, while 14 had no garden, and 1 Bohemian had neither. Of the 14 reporting no garden 1 was a Mexican, 1 an American white, 7 were Negroes, and 5 Bohemians. Garden space is given the tenants without cost to them.

Twenty-three reported receiving incomes from their poultry or livestock. Three tenants reported the sale of calves, one having received \$40 from this source for that year. Three reported income from the sale of turkeys, one having received \$100. Sales from poultry and eggs ranged from \$5 to \$80, six reporting having sold more than \$25 worth the year of the survey.

With 56 gardens reported by 71 tenants, and with 56 of the tenants owning chickens and other poultry, together with an

aggregate of 104 milch cows and 277 hogs in possession of 64 tenants, there is a considerable amount of food produced on the estate. The founder constantly encouraged the tenants to plant gardens and fruit trees, raise hogs, and keep a cow. The founder's encouragement of the production of foodstuffs on the estate was for the purpose of restricting store advances, for he realized that although a profit was made from sales to the tenants, yet the risks on bad accounts and the ill effects of a dissatisfied tenantry scarcely compensated in the course of time for profits derived from that source. He instituted the plan of not charging rent on land put into garden, and put the rental of corn land on a one-third basis, in order to induce the tenants to plant more corn.

But in spite of the food produced on the farms, the tenants still depend largely upon the store for their food. All that is bought from this source is bought on credit and at a high rate of interest, and some of the items bear a credit price. On August 1, 1929, fifty-one of the tenants owed the store for grocery accounts for that year \$14,631.07, which amount includes interest. This statement is taken from the books of the store, for only one tenant of the seventy-five interviewed reported keeping an account of his income and expenditures, and even he, when asked, could not give specific amounts.

*Accumulations and bank deposits.*—The value of the equipment, work stock, cattle, poultry, and hogs owned by the tenants totals approximately \$50,142.20, of which \$3,337.50, or 6.6 per cent, is incumbered, which leaves a net asset of \$46,804.70 to represent the accumulation of the tenants in equipment and livestock since they have been engaged in the business of farming (see Table No. 7). It is unfortunate that we do not have the record of the inventory of each tenant's equipment and stock when he came to the estate.

Data on savings in terms of money are not available for all the tenants, but the commercial bank deposits of fifty-five of the tenants on certain dates, viz., July 1, 1928; October 1, 1928, and January 1, 1929, have been examined. Of the 55 tenants, 22 had no accounts on any of the above dates. One tenant, a Bohemian, while having a checking account at the local bank, also had \$2,000 on time deposit there and \$1,500 on time deposit in a bank sixteen miles away.

In the following table is presented the bank balance of the tenants as they stood as of July 1, 1928, or October 1, 1928, and as of January 1, 1929. Numbers are substituted for tenants' names:

TABLE 16

Bank Balances of Tenants on Demand Deposit in Local Bank as of the Dates July 1, 1928; October 1, 1928, and January 1, 1929

Race or Nationality	July 1, 1928	October 1, 1928	January 1, 1929
1. Negro	\$ 2.36	\$ 415.41	\$ 161.78
2. Negro	—	664.62	232.68
3. Negro	—	113.20	29.34
4. Negro	—	—	15.15
5. Pole	—	—	12.66
6. Bohemian	98.87	449.20	185.29
7. Negro	—	119.39	—
8. Pole	—	61.67	27.65
9. Negro	—	10.76	—
10. Bohemian	—	318.12	140.00
11. Bohemian	—	210.00	5.91
12. American white	.87	.87	128.10
13. American white	—	277.00	6.56
14. Bohemian	—	—	25.83
15. Negro	71.72	85.24	104.96
16. Bohemian	—	100.00	61.25
17. American white	375.48	1,087.21	708.66
18. Bohemian	—	96.85	121.44
19. Negro	—	—	6.16
20. Negro	14.00	496.94	309.73
21. Bohemian	114.29	55.30	252.42
22. Bohemian	—	—	7.87
23. American white	—	72.02	—
24. Negro	—	400.22	98.28
25. Negro	—	176.03	1.02
26. Negro	4.00	259.32	82.69
27. Bohemian	—	70.00	—
28. Negro	.25	.25	23.15
29. American white	74.89	856.12	904.09
30. Bohemian	—	212.80	—
31. Negro	—	200.00	84.66
32. Negro	5.28	515.45	168.79
33. Bohemian	280.32	1,088.99	413.07
Total	\$1,042.33	\$8,512.98	\$4,314.19

The year 1928 was rated a "good year," for the crop was good in yield and the price hovered around 19 cents during the principal part of the marketing season. The balances as of October 1, 1928, show the peak of deposits, for by this date the tenants are, for the most part, "paid out." Indeed, until their accounts at the store are paid off, they receive no money from the cotton sold, except to pay for picking and perhaps a small cash advance

of \$5 or \$10. It must also be borne in mind that 1927 had likewise been a "good" year, for the crop was a normal one in yield and the price had ranged above 21 cents for the major portion of the marketing season, which, to most of the tenants, means the ginning season. A decrease by approximately half is to be noted in the demand balances from October 1, 1928, to January 1, 1929.

The relation of nationality to bank depositors may be noted in passing. While the Bohemians and others of foreign extraction represent 36 per cent of the tenants of the estate, they compose 42 per cent of the total number of depositors, and in the Bohemian group is found the largest individual saver or depositor of which we have record. The Americans, representing 12 per cent of the tenants of the estate, compose 12.1 per cent of the depositors, while the Negroes, who represent 46 per cent of the tenants on the estate, compose only 45 per cent of the depositors.

A discussion of the economic status of a group of tenants would be incomplete without a consideration of two other very important questions: (1) What price is paid by them for credit? (2) Do they get a fair return for their product when it is marketed? To answer briefly the first question, it should be said that all of the tenants who obtain credit for productive purposes get it from the estate, and the majority of those who are in need of consumptive credit get it from the same source.

All productive credit extended, in the form of sales of tools, equipment, feed, insect poison, or loans of cash to pay for cotton chopping and other daily labor, bears 10 per cent interest for twelve months or less. Notes made for the purchase of livestock bear interest of 10 per cent. For the rent of a team of work stock \$40 per year is charged.

For consumptive credit which is extended through the store of the estate there is levied what is known as a "credit charge" of 10 per cent upon all goods bought through the store. In addition to this credit charge, there is an additional 10 per cent added to the sale price of certain staple commodities, such as flour, bacon, meal, molasses, sugar, and lard, which constitute approximately 30 per cent of the yearly purchases of the average tenant. The credit price on some of these staple items at times exceeds 10 per cent, for on one occasion the writer noticed that the cash price of bulk lard was 16 cents per pound, while the credit price was 19 cents, or 18.9 per cent higher than the cash price. The examination of the year's account of one tenant, showing date

and amount of purchases, will indicate approximately the price of consumption credit paid by the tenants.

Date	Amount of Purchase
January 31	\$12.00
February 26	14.00
March 27	39.95
April 30	12.00
May 31	30.65
June 30	12.00
July 31	19.85
Total	\$140.45

This account was settled on October 15. If we apply the 10 per cent credit charge to this account, we find that the tenant paid approximately 20 per cent interest, in view of the distribution of the purchase dates and the date of settlement. But with an additional 10 per cent on approximately 30 per cent of his purchases, to take care of the credit price on staple items, he pays ultimately a rate of interest equivalent to 26.7 per cent. We may conclude, therefore, that as a borrower the tenant on the estate does not fare so well.

In the marketing of cotton the tenant usually sells his product to the cotton buyer of the estate; however, he has the privilege of obtaining bids from other buyers in the community, and may sell to them. If we take as a criterion one season's cotton purchases, for which we have both the grades recorded by the buyer of the estate as representing the basis of his bid on the tenant's cotton and the grades returned by the cotton classers of the Houston factor, we find that the tenant did not fare badly at the hands of the estate in marketing his product.

The analysis of the returns from the season's purchases indicates that 63 per cent of the cotton graded by the buyer of the estate was in agreement with the grades given the same cotton by the factor. Of the 37 per cent which showed the grading of the estate to be inaccurate, 24.5 per cent was in favor of the producer and 12.5 per cent in favor of the estate. In other words, 87.5 per cent of the cotton graded by the buyer of the estate gave the producers the equivalent or better grade on their cotton, and only 12.5 per cent of the cotton was to the advantage of the estate.

It is of interest to know whether the tenant receives the market price for his product. To obtain data on this point, the record of the price paid the producers by the estate and the price quoted

on the same grade of cotton in the Houston market were compared. The purchases of 99 bales of cotton on the dates of October 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 of 1923 were used. After proper deductions are made for cost of transportation, handling, and the ordinary allowances which the cotton trade takes into consideration in operating in the local market, the study shows that on 38 of the 99 bales the producer was underpaid, while on 51 he was overpaid. On 10 bales neither the producer nor the estate gained. The findings may be summarized as follows:

51 bales showed a gain to producers on grade and price ranging from 12 cents to \$15.00, or a total of	\$214.71
38 bales showed a loss to producer on grade and price ranging from 50 cents to \$6.50, or a total of	114.05
Total net gain to producers on grade and price	\$100.66

A part of this gain may be accounted for by the fact that it is often the practice of the cotton buyer of the estate to allow one-sixteenth, or even as high as three-sixteenths of a cent more per pound to those who are both tenants of the estate and customers of the store.

In conclusion, it should be said that in a situation where the income per family ranges little above \$1,000 a year, even during the "good years," where capital accumulations amount to an approximate figure of \$850, and where credit needs are met at an interest rate approximating one-fourth of the amount borrowed, it is hardly probable that such a system is satisfying, and to the tenantry that are a part of it, the so-called American standard of living is existent not even in the realm of "things hoped for."

## BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY O. DOUGLAS WEEKS

*The University of Texas*

Swisher, Carl Brent, *Stephen J. Field, Craftsman of the Law*. (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1930, pp. viii, 473.)

Some years ago Beveridge demonstrated that the biography of a Justice of the Supreme Court could be fascinating reading. In the present volume Doctor Swisher carries on that tradition. Field, because of his unusually interesting private and political life, his strong moral-legal convictions, and his very long term on the Court, furnished an exceptional opportunity for such a study, and the author has made the most of his possibilities. Field's autobiographical fragment, *Personal Reminiscences*, supplied an excellent starting point for such a book. Taken uncritically and without considerable study of the period and the environment in which he lived, Field's own story would, in some instances, have been almost as misleading as it was useful and interesting. But the present biographer has skillfully avoided this danger. He writes with obvious affection for his subject, but, unlike Beveridge, he has been able to view him as something less than and more than the hero of the tale. Field emerges from these pages as a very real figure, a man who had shortcomings as well as signal moral courage and legal ability. And although a generous portion of the book is devoted to Field's early life in New England, to his adventurous years in the California of the gold-rush period, to his political campaigns and his presidential ambitions, and to the Terry tragedy, most of the work is devoted, as it should be, to his almost thirty-five years on the Supreme Court.

Field's opinions cover much too wide a range of subject matter to make adequate summary here possible. His most important contribution, however, should be briefly considered. A man of strong convictions, which he seemingly never doubted, he believed as firmly as did Marshall in the obligation upon and qualifications of the Supreme Court to keep the Nation in the paths of safety; that is, in the paths marked out for it by the founding fathers. In no small part has it been because of Field that the Court has viewed with alarm various experiments which represented attempts by legislatures and Congress to produce a different adjustment of economic and social relationships. This may be best illustrated by his own statements: "As in our intercourse with our fellow men certain principles of morality are assumed to exist, without which society would be impossible, so certain inherent rights lie at the foundation of all action, and upon a recognition of them alone can free institutions be maintained." The right to butcher livestock in Louisiana he believed to be such a right, and the attempt of the Louisiana Legislature to regulate that business produced this emphatic dissent: "I cannot believe that what is termed in the Declaration of Independence a God-given and an inalienable right can be thus ruthlessly taken from the citizen, or that there can be any abridgment of that right except by regulations alike affecting all persons of the same age, sex, and condition." At another time he expressed to his colleagues his view of the function of the Court in these words: "It possesses the power of declaring the law, and in that is found the safeguard which keeps the whole mighty fabric of government from

rushing to destruction. This negative power, the power of resistance, is the only safety of a popular government." His own interpretation of the way in which this restraining power should be used is set forth in his dissents in the Slaughter House, Butchers' Union, and Munn cases, and his concurring opinion in the Santa Clara case. And although it cannot be said that his precise point of view has since been adopted by the Court, it can be said that the cause for which he argued in these and others of his opinions has in many instances been supported by the majority of that body.

It is, of course, to be remembered that Field believed that the principle of inherent, natural rights of the private citizen served to protect the individual as well as the corporation. As Doctor Swisher says, Field's opinions on the rights of the Chinese laborers "followed a jagged seam," but, if there is not complete consistency, there is in many of them a marked zeal for the protection of the rights of the lowliest of the Californians. His concurrence in the Milligan case and his opinions in the Cummings and Garland cases further illustrate his sympathy for the rights of minority groups.

These and other aspects of Field's work the author deals with in an eminently satisfactory manner. He views his problem, the place of Field in the history of the Court between 1863 and 1897, with the perspective which comes from a study of the period as a whole as well as a careful study of Field and his writings. It is to be hoped that other justices of the Court will find equally competent biographers.

B. F. WRIGHT, JR.

Harvard University.

Fisher, Irving, *The Theory of Interest*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xxvii, 566.)

Since he published *The Rate of Interest* in 1907, Professor Fisher has been universally recognized as one of the chief defendants of the psychological theory of interest which was first developed by Senior, who argued that the capitalist must be paid for abstinence. During the last half of the nineteenth century the psychological school was able to shift the emphasis of theory from cost (supply) to utility (demand). It was contended in opposition to the socialistic doctrine that goods do not derive their value from labor, and that capitalists therefore do not rob laborers of what they produce. Yet the early members of this school, with the possible exception of Jevons, made no contribution to the theory of interest. Bohm-Bawerk, whom Fisher follows, undertook to fill this gap. He developed the time-preference theory, according to which present goods are valued more highly than future goods of like kind and number. As Fisher explains, if a man exchanges \$105 worth of consumers' goods a year hence for \$100 worth of goods ready for consumption now, he sacrifices no value, nor has the purchaser of the future goods paid for abstinence. In the case of labor, wages are the full value of its product at the time of payment (49-52). According to Fisher, what determines the rate of interest? For the individual "the rate of interest is a relatively fixed fact, since his own impatience and resulting action can affect it only infinitesimally. To him it is his degree of impatience which is the variable . . . for him . . . the rate of interest is cause and his lending and borrowing is the effect. For society as a whole, however, the order of cause and effect is reversed" (119). "Those who, to start with,

have a high degree of impatience, strive to acquire more present income at the cost of future income, and this tends to raise the rate of interest. . . . On the other hand, those who, to start with, have a low rate of preference, strive to acquire more future income at the cost of present income, and so tend to lower the rate of interest" (121).

In this way a common marginal rate of preference for present over future income is registered, the rate being such, of course, that the loan market is cleared and present and future income streams are in psychological balance.

But the validity of this rests upon the premise that present consumers' goods are generally valued more highly than future goods of like kind and number. Is this generally true? Fisher admits that in exceptional cases the shortness and uncertainty of life may cause a low rate of preference. But is the \$100,000,000,000 of life insurance now outstanding in the United States evidence of the exceptional? (84). Furthermore, does the typical individual expect to have a larger income stream in the future? And, do those of defective will and lack of imagination have as much aggregate weight in the loan market as those of strong will and good economic foresight? Fisher, like Bohm-Bawerk, answers in the affirmative and thus tries to account for positive interest. But negative answers seem equally logical. Time preference seems to be an unmeasurable phenomenon, and to belong to speculative rather than scientific economics. Probably it is for this reason that it has never been generally accepted.

Now Professor Fisher, like Bohm-Bawerk, contends that time preference is not a sacrifice cost theory like that developed by Senior (534-541). But the time preference theorists say that present income will not be saved unless a reward is offered so that present and future are psychologically balanced. The abstinence, or sacrifice cost, theorists say that the postponement of consumption is a sacrifice, and saving must be rewarded in order to secure a psychological balance. To the reviewer, it seems that the difference between the two theories is at least highly superficial.

Professor Fisher, however, says: "So far as I have anything new to offer in substance or manner of presentation, it is chiefly on the objective side (productivity)" (182). Is Fisher a productivity theorist? In his earlier work he further elaborated Bohm-Bawerk's first two causes, but denied the third. He contended that technical superiority (productivity) cannot be considered an independent cause of interest without destroying the foundation of time preference. For this reason Fisher was accused of neglecting productivity of capital (viii, ix). Now, in his last work, he has especially tried to reconcile time preference, which he calls impatience to spend, with productivity, which he calls opportunity to invest. He contends that he belongs to both the productivity and the time-preference schools; that the superiority of either school over the other is "too little" to "justify violent quarrels" (182).

Now the time-preference theorists emphasize that interest is a value problem (53-57). Capital produces physical goods, and a larger physical supply may have less value per unit and in the aggregate than a smaller supply. Here Professor Fisher uses the term "opportunity to invest" instead of productivity, because the latter term "may be used ambiguously to mean physical productivity, or value return, or return over cost; and because it suggests that capital produces income value instead of the reverse; and

because it attributes the value of manufactured things to the cost of production instead of to their discounted future services" (150, 151).

The real problem is to explain why the aggregate product of the capital, say a machine, has more value than the machine itself has. A real productivity theorist would explain this by some kind of a value productivity theory. Fisher does not attempt this, although he asserts that he is such a theorist. It seems that Fisher's opportunity to invest is nothing but the old principle of equi-marginal capital returns, or the tendency to a common rate. "The concept of investment opportunity rests upon an option. . . . An investment opportunity is the opportunity to shift from one such option, or optional income stream, to another" (151).

In the final analysis Fisher offers nothing but time preference as an explanation of interest. Yet he says that the validity of the time-preference theory depends upon one's ability to get from it to a productivity theory (150). It seems to the reviewer that he has failed to do so successfully.

NORMAN SPENCER.

The University of Texas.

Muir, Ramsay, *How Britain Is Governed*. (New York: Richard R. Smith Inc., 1930, pp. xi, 333.)

*How Britain Is Governed* is the work of an author with convictions, an author who has the courage to voice his convictions and who is thoroughly competent, by virtue of his insight into the English system, born of long years of observation of and labor with it, to make just such a study as he has made. Here, in short, is a new book on Britain—not just another book on a subject already written to death, but a stimulating, refreshing study of the actualities of the British system. The keynote of the work is found in the author's statement (p. 13) that "Almost every phrase in the popular theory (of the way in which the English Government operates) . . . seems to me to be open to challenge," and its purpose in his announced intention (p. 17) to "examine the whole matter afresh, brushing aside all received notions and doctrines, and (if we can) seeing things as they really are."

Nor is the announcement a mere blind used to excuse a new book, for the author does exactly what he promises to do. And with what effect does he do it! One by one he examines the "received notions and doctrines," unchanged for half a century, and one by one the most cherished dogmas fall before his pen. He finds, briefly (his conclusions are listed on pages 320-321), that the bureaucracy, though largely uncontrolled, has so increased in power as to wield a great influence (a development which has escaped the notice of most writers); that the Cabinet, from its former position as a "committee of Parliament to govern the Nation," has advanced to a point where it is able in fact to exercise dictatorial powers; that the dictatorship of the Cabinet rests on "the increased rigidity of party organization," which has changed the workings of the English party system completely in the last several decades; that the electoral system has broken down; that the House of Commons finds itself ever more incompetent to care for its work; that the House of Lords has come to occupy a position which renders it worse than useless; and that what we in America call "the lobby" is coming to take a large and unhealthy part in the conduct of governmental affairs.

For these reasons chiefly, he concludes, the English system is not what it seems, nor has it been what it has seemed these fifty years.

From this list of evils it must not be supposed, however, that our author concludes that the British system is doomed, for while he criticizes its present workings in unsparing terms, he nevertheless entertains hopes not wholly forlorn for the future. Progress toward rehabilitation will not be made, he believes, without conscious effort, and it is in the direction of outlining his proposals for reform that his criticism takes on a constructive character. Briefly again, he argues against the two-party system as it allegedly exists in England; he proposes a reduction in size and a reorganization of the Cabinet; he believes that both houses of Parliament might serve their purposes much more satisfactorily if some attention were given their structure, their organization, and their functions; and he explores the possibilities offered by devolution, both functional and territorial. In short, he proposes a specific for each of his ills, and his proposals are set forth in logical, reasoned fashion.

The book will not meet universally with the enthusiasm with which the reviewer has greeted it. Its ablest critic must agree, however, that its argument is cogent and well presented; that it lacks the sentimentality which too often permeates books on the English system; that it is stimulating and refreshing; and last, but not least, that it is well written, avoiding on the one hand the briefness which would make it unconvincing and on the other the verbiage which would cover up possible weaknesses. In parting, let us give the publisher his day. He has done a first-class piece of work, both in bringing out the book and in giving to it appearance and form which add no little to the satisfaction with which the reader contemplates the volume.

ROSCOE C. MARTIN.

The University of Texas.

Collins, George Rowland, *Marketing*. (New York: Alexander Hamilton Institute, 1930, pp. 351.)

"Marketing" is quite as unsatisfactory for the title of a book as "Production" would be. Both are too vague and inclusive. Even a definition of the word does not help much. Consider the one Professor Collins suggests: "... it (marketing) involves all those business activities which are necessary to move goods from the producer to the consumer in the amounts and of the kind desired." Certainly an encyclopedic order for a single volume!

"All activities" must include at least selling, buying, transporting, financing, risk-bearing, standardizing, and recording; "goods" may mean everything from pig-iron and rouge to pork chops and pins; "producers" must include farmers, miners, lumbermen, ranchers, the town baker, and the Ford Motor Car Company; and "consumers," both a Mexican ditch-digger and the United States Steel Corporation.

It is reasonably apparent, then, that the most helpful service which a reviewer may perform, both for this book and the potential reader, is to set forth concisely what the book represents.

On this score it is pleasant to report that Professor Collins makes no attempt to be totally inclusive in anything but his title. First, he delimits himself to "manufactured consumers' goods"—those goods originating in some sort of a factory, which are ready for the approbation of the ultimate

consumer. Next, he limits himself to a major consideration of only those activities which help a manufacturer dispose of his product to the mass of buyers. These processes of exchange he calls "non-physical" to distinguish them from the physical processes pertaining to the actual handling of the boxes and cartons, which latter processes he does not discuss. Further, he does not include financing and risk-bearing in the discussion, for the good reason that these functions are common to all business and not peculiar to marketing alone.

So, in the case of this particular book, "Marketing" means simply a discussion of the processes which transfer the title of factory-made goods to everyone, everywhere.

Considering point of view, there are at least three reasonable approaches to this subject. A pure description of our present distributing system could be called marketing. A general description of the producer technique used in "putting over" goods on a buyer could also be called marketing. An attempt to evaluate the whole distributing structure from a consumer viewpoint—with the thesis of the social good dominant—could still be called marketing.

As we have noted above, Professor Collins takes a commendably definite stand. After a brief opening description of marketing functions and agencies, he holds throughout the remainder of the volume to the viewpoint of a producer wishing to sell the right goods to the right people at the right price. His approach suggests his main thesis, that the successful marketing of products is a matter of assembling and analyzing *all* the pertinent available facts, and the putting into effect of those marketing policies which the analysis suggests will be the most satisfactory and profitable. In line with this thesis, he devotes the major portion of the book to chapters on Market Research, Market Forecasting, and Marketing Policies.

It is of passing interest to note that one might legitimately find a part or all of this discussion in books bearing such a diversity of titles as Marketing Research, Advertising Research, Marketing Policies, Marketing Principles, Market Planning, or Sales Management—thus suggesting how much the specialized phases of marketing are overlapping.

Professor Collins makes a commendable effort to consider the underlying factors involved rather than the obvious surface features. Business Administration as the "latest of the professions" has not always had a literature which could stand the test of the pure scientist. Here is one more book in the general field of marketing which tends to deal with principles rather than platitudes, and so helps to build the firmer base on which this new branch of the "social sciences" is now standing.

The book is definitely of the textbook type—small, flexible, well printed, with an elaborate table of contents and a good index. Because it has no bibliography and few footnotes, and because its style is terse and non-elaborative, it will probably be of only casual use in college teaching. However, it is well written to its major purpose, that of informing the active business man; and it can do much to answer his eternal, heartfelt cry, "What shall we do to be saved?"

EVERETT G. SMITH.

The University of Texas.

Townsend, Mary Evelyn, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884-1918*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xviii, 424.)

In this volume, which is a fitting complement to the author's *Origins of Modern German Colonialism*, we have presented for the first time a careful, scholarly, well-written, impartial study of Imperial Germany's dramatic effort to establish an overseas empire.

The story may be briefly told. Colonial activity by Germans was present in much of the modern age, but the results, until the formation of the Empire, were disappointing, due to weakness and disorganization in the German states. Bismarck sensed the need of colonies, but subordinated his colonial policy to the exigencies of Germany's European policy. His early program called for the development of a colonial empire by the English method of organizing chartered companies. These companies having failed to function, they were replaced by direct imperial control, which was characterized in its early period by the ineptitude and ruthlessness of an inexperienced bureaucracy, but after 1907 by the application of the best principles of scientific colonial administration. Meantime, Bismarck's cautious policy had been replaced by that of the Kaiser, which frankly identified the colonial program with Germany's bid for world power, although even the Kaiser often found it necessary to employ the Bismarckian principle of caution. As Imperial Germany became increasingly conscious of its power, it played the game of empire-making with a growing boldness. All its vast colonial schemes were, however, cut short by the World War.

A careful reading of this volume leaves one with certain rather well-defined conclusions, some of which are at variance with generally accepted notions about the German colonial empire. In the first place, it is made pretty clear that Bismarck was opposed not so much to colonies as to a rash embarkation upon a ruthless policy of colony-grabbing before Germany was strong enough to withstand the inevitable clash with English and French interests. His first aim was a Germany powerful in Europe. In so far as a colonial program could subserve that aim, he favored the acquisition of colonies. Second, we see the Kaiser deliberately adopting a strong colonial policy, not for the sake of the colonies, but in order that he might have still more levers with which to impress the might of Germany upon a nervous world. Third, we are given a new evaluation of the German methods of colonial administration. The popular opinion in much of the world was that German colonial administration was unspeakably cruel and inefficient, a natural product of the policy of the iron heel. Unfortunately, this characterization was essentially true of the period before 1907, but in that year Doctor Dernburg began to apply the principles of scientific colonization, the good results of which were just beginning to show when the World War destroyed the whole structure. Needless to say, Germany never attained anything like England's general capacity for ruling subject and backward peoples, but fairness compels us to recognize that near the close of her colonial venture she was honestly endeavoring—and with considerable success—to undo previous wrongs and errors.

As has been indicated, the book is worthy of praise. Some might wish that the author had devoted more attention to colonial administration, but

it should not be forgot that her essential purpose was to tell how Germany had won and lost a colonial empire "in a single generation."

CHARLES A. TIMM.

The University of Texas.

Martin, Charles E., *The Politics of Peace*. (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1929, pp. xx, 458.)

The author states in the introduction that his aim is to describe and appraise political institutions and practices in the light of their value to the new-world order which is steadily assuming shape and vitality, and that the most urgent of all educational tasks is to teach the politics of the new-world order—the politics of peace and order. Mr. Martin has been very successful in his effort to describe the existing political institutions and practices. The teaching of the politics of the new-world order is quite another problem. The chapter on individualism and education will strike a responsive note from teachers in the field of higher education.

The work consists really of a series of essays, any one of which is a complete exposition of its topic. The whole is bound together by the vital relation of each topic to world politics. Part one is devoted to an excellent analysis of the constitutions of the United States, England, and France. Part two, which comprises three-fourths of the book, takes up the forces of individualism, collectivism, nationalism, imperialism, and militarism, that are of such tremendous influence both in thought and practice. The third part is devoted to the trend today. The state, under modern conditions, is being forced to undertake a number of functions not intended by its creators. Problems concerning agriculture, labor, police power, education, society, trade, and commerce rest more and more on the state for solution.

The material is logically arranged and thoroughly organized. The chapter on nationalism in general is followed by chapters on specific phases, such as Americanization, bolshevism, nationalism in Mexico, fascism, the new Turkey, etc. The author's interpretation shows an accurate knowledge of the basic problems of world politics and is singularly free from bias. A sufficient background is given to make present conditions easily understood by any reader. The style is simple and easy.

There is little in the book that could not be found in other sources, but it has the virtue of bringing together in one compact volume an accurate and readable account of the political institutions and practices of today. Any scheme for world peace must take into account the world as it is. Since all nations are interdependent economically, intellectually, and politically, Mr. Martin points out that the politics of peace must be an ingenious compromise between the habits of the past and the aspirations of today. We can best discern its pattern and its trend by studying with care those contributing factors which are visible and clear; namely, the important political theories and practices which have assumed form in the minds of great thinkers and under known conditions of time and place.

CORAL H. TULLIS.

The University of Texas.

Stewart, Frank M., and Clark, Joseph L., *The Constitution and Government of Texas*. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1930, pp. vii, 268.)

The problem considered here is to provide a college text treating specifically the Constitution and Government of Texas, instruction in which was made mandatory by a recent legislative act. For the purpose, the work is both timely and valuable. In passing judgment upon a book of this nature it is necessary for the reviewer to approach the subject in the light of the authors' objective, and answer at least one major question: How well was the work done?

The material selected was limited generally to that which was necessary to fulfill the purposes of the book. The work is divided logically into two divisions. Beginning with a brief survey of the State's constitutional history, the first and minor division points out the salient features of each of the six constitutions under which the State has been governed. The plan then passes naturally to the main body of the subject matter, a treatment of the Government in operation. Here the amending and revising processes are discussed briefly, and the chapters that follow deal in succession with the Legislature, the executive, administration, the judiciary, and local Government. A mass of solid information in a relatively brief book, written in a clear and easy style. The work is unusually free from misstatements of fact. Much valuable bibliographical material is appended in the form of footnotes, with the Constitution, instructions to voters, and two appropriate readings included in the appendices.

The authors, in the main, limit themselves to a statement of facts, and avoid generalizations. There is no hesitancy, however, in discussing the major reforms as they reveal the most glaring defects in the State's system of government. In fact, one of the most excellent and informative chapters of the book is that dealing with the State's administrative system. The numerous administrative agencies are listed, the ramshackle and disintegrated structure portrayed, the spoils system, the inadequate reporting system, short terms, and low standards of compensation are pointed out. The need for a "comprehensive reconstruction" and thorough procedural reform of the State judiciary is also emphasized.

Individual judgments may differ concerning the selection of topics. One feels that some explanation of certain features of the bill of rights, in its application to State jurisdiction in the realm of domestic relations, in this day of Government regulation and interference, might be more pertinent to the process of making citizens than a discussion of the legal nature and procedure of a constitutional convention. Likewise, a better explanation of the State's primary and party convention system might have given more emphasis to politics and processes in contrast to organization and powers. In line with the object of the book, the field of local Government, which was covered in twenty-two pages, should have been given more consideration. Space for the consideration of such subjects could be gained by eliminating much of the discussion on the discarded constitutions, which were but passing incidents in the early history of the State, and, taken apart from the historic currents of the period, are of little significance. Since the appendices comprise approximately 40 per cent of the book, the selected readings might be omitted with little detracting from its merits. The work is in need of an

early revision in order to bring the section on the Legislature up to date in accordance with the more recent amendments of the Constitution.

GEORGE C. HESTER.

Southwestern University.

Johnson, Charles S., *The Negro in American Civilization*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930, pp. xiv, 538.)

Kennedy, Louise Venable, *The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. 270.)

In spite of a generally accepted belief that the race problem is gradually becoming less acute, the study of the place of the Negro in American society is continued with unabated zeal. Each year new investigations are begun and new books on the subject are published. Foundations, committees, and philanthropic individuals have given generous assistance and, more recently, the Negroes themselves have entered the field. As a result, there is now in existence a vast amount of information about Negroes. So great is the accumulation that the average reader cannot secure a general view of the subject without undue effort. This situation suggests that there has arisen a need for combining and coördinating, a need which the authors of the books here under review have obviously attempted to meet.

Of the two books that of Charles S. Johnson is the more ambitious. The advertisements of the publishers proclaim it the *Middletown* of the Negro, and the comparison is not inapt. The author, himself a Negro, deals comprehensively and sympathetically with every important phase of Negro social life. The increasing urbanization, economic maladjustments, health problems, education, delinquency, conflicts with the white race, all are presented in the light of the numerous sociological investigations of recent years. The handicap of color in the American milieu is everywhere evident. In the South the practices and beliefs of bygone days give way but slowly, and in the North the economic competition offered by the Negro gives rise at once to opposition and conflict. In spite of the difficulties, the Negro has made considerable headway. The conclusion is inevitable that in time the colored race will find a position in American society much more satisfactory to all concerned than the one it now occupies. Appended to the main part of the study as Part Two are discussions of special social problems of the Negro by the following writers: Niles Carpenter, Louis I. Dublin, Thorsten Sellin, W. E. B. DuBois, and Herbert A. Miller. There can be no question but that this volume constitutes the most complete and authoritative work on the Negro in America hitherto published.

Louise V. Kennedy's book is much narrower in scope. Limiting herself to the problem of migration, this author has brought together and summarized the literature on the subject. She describes in detail the process of migration, its origins and destinations, its causes and results. A unique bibliographical device offers assistance to students who are interested in particular aspects of the question. As a bibliography for the study of Negro migrations of the present century the book will prove extremely valuable.

CARL M. ROSENQUIST.

The University of Texas.

Bieseke, R. L., *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861*. (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1930, pp. xii, 259.)

This is the first volume of a history of one of the minor racial elements in the population of this State. Besides the native Indians, Africa and many of the countries of Europe have contributed to the population of Texas. A history of each, or of related groups of them, is desirable.

The second oldest people in Texas, the Spaniards, while they contended with the Indians for supremacy, produced voluminous records and wrote some history. Since 1836 they have written very little. Some day a student of Spanish descent will recognize the opportunity, and what he will have to say will not be altogether pleasant reading.

The American historians of Texas began in 1836, and have done nearly all of the writing since. Their writings, however, make only brief reference to those of foreign stock. To write the history of these immigrant foreigners and their descendants is no easy task. The sources are scattered and not easy to locate. The jealousy, suspicion, and prejudice with which they are regarded are usually cordially reciprocated.

This is not the first attempt to write the history of the Germans in Texas, but it is by far the best. Bieseke is a native of Guadalupe County. He learned early to know the people whose history he writes. His deep interest in the subject has helped him to overcome many discouraging obstacles. His training in research has been the very best.

The volume covers only thirty years, the period of the founders. The reasons causing Germans to emigrate, and why they selected Texas as their new home are discussed. It is pointed out that the earlier emigrants differed from the later ones; that they settled in South Texas, while the later ones settled in West Texas; that the former moved on their own responsibility, the latter under the guidance of the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas. The history of the two groups shows divergencies. The environment of those in Central Texas and their longer residence in Texas caused them to respond differently to the public questions of the day than did those settled in homogenous groups on the extreme frontier. However, to trace the development of each group and the part it played in the history of the State is material for several more volumes. It would be great good fortune if Doctor Bieseke might continue the publication of his researches so auspiciously begun.

E. W. WINKLER.

The University of Texas.

Odegard, Peter, *The American Public Mind*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930, pp. x, 308.)

A literature of considerable proportions has appeared during the last decade dealing with the limitations of public opinion, the growing importance of pressure politics, and the general faults of the traditional democracy for which the world was presumably made safe by the results of the Great War. The contributions of President Lowell, Walter Lippman, Professor John Dewey, and many others are well known. Professor Odegard himself had previously made a contribution in his study of the technique of pressure politics. The result is that the student of political science is forced to make

a new evaluation of those supposedly self-evident assumptions of the orthodox democratic theory. He is not necessarily rendered pessimistic, but he is forced to the realization that the operation of practical politics must be divorced from theory and viewed as a pragmatic study.

In analyzing the American public mind it seems not to have been the intention of Professor Odegard to add anything particularly original to the literature mentioned above. He has chosen rather to bring together within the brief space of his present book the best that can be gleaned from these writings. This is not to say, however, that the *American Public Mind* does not contain much new illustrative material and a certain freshness of viewpoint which make it most interesting; but the fact remains that its chief merit is that of synthesizing ideas already familiar. In doing this the writer has been pleasingly informal in his style and simple in his mode of expression, thus producing a work which should prove decidedly readable and attractive to anybody interested in discovering how the American democracy really works.

The book is divided into nine chapters. The first two deal with the limitations of the individual as a man and a citizen, and with his behavior in society. Here are reviewed some of the contributions made by biology, medical science, and psychology to an understanding of the social and political man. Then follow chapters on the subtle influences of the home, the church, and the school in creating political attitudes or "stereotypes." In a chapter entitled "The Fourth Estate" the changes of the last generation in the organization and technique of the newspaper and the resulting influence on the formation of public opinion are considered. In addition, the political parties, the pressure groups, and the use of propaganda, motion pictures, the radio, books, and censorship are allotted due space as factors in the creation of the more or less artificial product which passes for public opinion.

O. DOUGLAS WEEKS.

The University of Texas.

Anderson, Eugene N., *The First Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. xi, 420.)

This study of the first Moroccan crisis is of importance, since it reveals in its various aspects many of the complexities of European diplomacy in the quarter-century before the World War. That the author is successful in his endeavor to steer his way through this diplomatic maze is a tribute to the painstaking care with which he examines the source material, much of which only recently came to light with the publication of the German and the British documents bearing on the World War. Had he delayed for a short time the publication of the book, he would have had the added advantage of consulting the French documents.

In the development of his thesis the author weaves together an interesting, well-balanced, critical, and properly correlated discussion of such major diplomatic situations as, first, the foreign policy of Delcassé, which had as its aim the strengthening of the Dual Alliance, the solution of Anglo-French difficulties, a *rapprochement* between Great Britain and Russia, and a Franco-Italian and Franco-Spanish understanding—in short, complete insurance, so far as diplomacy could provide it, of national security; second,

the abandonment by England of her policy of isolation and the substitution therefor of a policy of *rapprochement* with Japan, France, and Russia; third, the bungling efforts of Germany to vitiate the diplomatic program of Delcassé by making crude gestures in the direction of England, then Russia, and even France herself; and fourth, the Moroccan crisis itself, in which many of the major diplomatic tangles of Europe were reflected.

After a reading of the evidences presented, one is inclined to conclude, first, that the Moroccan crisis of 1904-1906, like other crises in the two decades before 1914, arose not because of the intrinsic worth of Morocco but because the diplomatic situation in Europe was so delicate that any disturbance would likely have been used as a test of strength of the various combinations; and second, that Germany, by her bungling, bluffing, irresolute, often aimless diplomacy, left other states in doubt both of her intentions and of her sincerity, with the quite natural result that she is largely to be blamed for the chain that was finally stretched around her and her satellites.

CHARLES A. TIMM.

The University of Texas.

Luce, Robert, *Legislative Principles*. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, pp. 667.)

In his rather formidable volume, *Legislative Principles*, Mr. Luce has included what was lacking in his two previous volumes, *Legislative Procedure* and *Legislative Assemblies*, in the rounding out of a complete treatise on representative government. *Legislative Principles*, as the title indicates, deals with a number of the basic considerations upon which the whole theory of the representative system rests. Perhaps this work should have been the first rather than the last of the series indicated. Certainly the problems it discusses should logically be considered first. Such questions as "What Is Law?" "Monarchs and Sovereignty," the history of representative government in England and America, and the place occupied by a constitution in relation to a parliamentary body are attacked. In subsequent chapters the fundamental bases of representation are treated. These include chapters on "Majority and Plurality," "Occupational Representation," "Franchise Tests," "The Suffrage," "Places or Population," "Apportionment Under the Union," and "Theories of Representation." Finally the author, in his concluding chapters, takes up public opinion and popular legislation by means of the initiative and referendum. All these matters make the book lengthy.

As a reference work *Legislative Principles* is no doubt excellent. Mr. Luce, on account of painstaking scholarship combined with a long experience as a legislator, is amply equipped to speak with some authority in a field which has been none too carefully canvassed. This book, however, is no more easily read than his earlier books, and impresses the reader as somewhat ponderous. Space is sometimes given to matters of rather little importance at the expense of other matters about which the reader might wish to know more. One wishes also that Mr. Luce would draw more heavily from his own rich legislative experience. That he is thorough, however, cannot be doubted. His labors of preparation evidently covered the examination of an extensive number of authorities. His tone, as usual, is conservative.

His purpose is largely that of compiling facts and opinions, although he does not hesitate to disclose his own reactions to many theories and practical arrangements in the structure of representative bodies. That he has performed a real service to students of government in the preparation of this volume is beyond doubt. Considered with the earlier volumes, it may be said again that it completes a well-rounded and comprehensive treatise on representative government and is indispensable to all political scientists.

O. DOUGLAS WEEKS.

The University of Texas.

Margalith, Aaron M., *The International Mandates*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930, pp. ix, 242.)

Gerig, Benjamin, *The Open Door and the Mandates System*. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1930.)

These two volumes will be welcomed as worth while additions to existing studies of the mandate system. The book by Mr. Margalith deals with the general principles inherent in the institution of mandates. After accounting for the establishment of the system, the author analyzes the concepts which underlie it. These he finds to be the juridical ideas of trusteeship, guardianship, and mandate. Associated with them are three additional principles—no annexation, international supervision, and gratuitous service.

The part played by the League of Nations, and more especially the Permanent Mandates Commission, in the administration of the territories is next briefly recounted. The problem of sovereignty and the various theories concerning its location are discussed at some length. The conclusion is reached that it is impossible to locate sovereignty definitely, a condition, however, which is essential to the working of the institution.

The contribution made by Mr. Gerig, now a member of the League secretariat, is a special study of the problem of economic equality, with emphasis on problems arising in the mandates. It is of value not merely for its intrinsic merit but also because it points the way to future investigations of an intensive character. Three initial chapters deal with the question of the open door prior to the Peace Conference of 1919. The intricate byplay of conflicting interests which successively led to policies of mercantilism, free trade, neo-mercantilism, and the open door is effectively detailed.

A chapter is next devoted to the decisions of the Peace Conference in which Wilsonian ideas as stated in the fifth of his Fourteen Points were blunted by the demands of imperialists, compromises being reached which ultimately found their way into Article 22 of the Covenant, and the several mandate charters. Attention is then briefly directed to the organization and procedure of the Mandates Commission. The action of the United States in protecting its interests in the several territories is discussed. The actual supervision of the economic clauses of the mandates by the League is reviewed. Its action respecting such problems as customs, loans, postal rates, and concessions is carefully surveyed. The conclusion reached is that the open-door clauses of the mandates are being duly administered by the Mandates Commission and observed by the Powers.

S. D. MYRES, JR.

Geneva, Switzerland.

## BOOK NOTES

Another volume of the *Nuevos Documentos Ineditos O Muy Raros Para La Historia de Mexico* (San Antonio, Texas: Casa Editorial Lozano, 1930, Tomo III, pp. xvii, 269), Edited by Carlos E. Castañeda, has made its appearance. The subject of this volume, which represents a continuation of the notable series edited by the late Genaro Garcia, is *La Guerra De Reforma Segun El Archivo Del General D. Manuel Doblado, 1857-1900*. A fervent adherent of liberalism, General Doblado devoted himself to the cause of Juarez, and, after the triumph of the liberals, he was rewarded by being made general-in-chief of the army, and later, Secretary of Foreign Affairs. It was in the latter capacity that he performed his greatest services to his country during the troublous times of foreign intervention. Doblado's greatest glory, according to Mr. Castañeda, was his negotiation of the Treaty of Soledad, which facilitated the retirement of England and Spain, and which also should have accomplished the withdrawal of the French but for the "perfidy" of Napoleon. In estimating General Doblado, Mr. Castañeda says: "Few of our public men have enjoyed the influence exercised by this man in the most critical moments of our history. Feared and respected by conservatives and liberals, he had on his hands on more than one occasion the future of Mexico." In Volumes XXVI and XXXI of the first series edited by Genaro Garcia a part of the Doblado archives was published. In the present volume appear selected letters covering the years 1857 to 1860. They reveal intimate matters relating to outstanding figures in the War of the Reform. As in the preceding volume, which was published by the Mexican Government, Mr. Castañeda has surpassed the illustrious initiator of the series in the performance of his obligations as editor. For his scholarly interest in facilitating the continued publication of the valuable archives of Genaro Garcia, D. Ignacio E. Lozano, well-known publisher of San Antonio, Texas, is deserving of the thanks of all students of Mexican history.

J. L. M.

Marie R. Madden, Professor of Spanish History and Political Theory at Fordham University, has published recently a volume entitled *Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1930, pp. xv, 198). It may be said at the start that the book is most attractively printed and bound and is illustrated by a number of excellent plates reproducing old woodcuts and engravings. A foreword was written by Professor Moorhouse I. X. Millar. The study is arranged in two parts, the first dealing with the theory as inspired or developed by Saint Isidore of Seville, the *Lex Visigothorum* and other early collections of laws and customs, and the Justinian code; the second comprising a consideration of the governmental machinery of medieval Spain, together with the political and legal theories which attached themselves thereto. Here the kingship, the royal councils, the municipalities, and the Cortez are considered. The writer has no doubt been most painstaking and thorough in examining the sources. The general thesis is that of presenting a contrast between the essentially medieval conceptions of political authority, which in Spain seem not to have been greatly different from those held in other parts of the Europe of the time, and the changes wrought by the conceptions introduced by the

Roman law. The former conceptions are identified with the Catholic scheme of thought, whereas the latter are characterized as essentially pagan. Thus the Catholic Church is associated by the writer with the limited, diffused, and decentralized power of the feudal *provincia*, and not with tendencies toward autocracy and centralization of a later time which owe their basic inspiration to the Roman law.

O. D. W.

Vladimir P. Timoshenko's *The Role of Agricultural Fluctuations in the Business Cycle*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Business Studies, Bureau Business Research, Vol. II, No. 9, June, 1930, pp. 89) is a new study of an old problem. W. S. Jevons, M. I. Tugan-Barnovsky, H. L. Moore, Wesley C. Mitchell, and Irving Fisher have all credited the fluctuations of the business cycle partially, at least, to fluctuations in agriculture. Agricultural production in the United States reveals certain cyclical fluctuations. Because of the flexibility of farm prices, the total value of crops at farms fluctuates more in accordance with prices than with variation in the physical volume of crops, and cycles in the physical volume of crops generate cycles in crop prices. A low ratio of agricultural to industrial prices generally precedes, or is coincident with, a business revival; a high ratio often occurs during periods of prosperity and precedes or accompanies a recession. Large crops increase the purchasing power of railroads and of dealers in agricultural products, but do not regularly increase that of farmers. Fluctuations in the volume of agricultural exports cause fluctuations in the balance of trade and in the outflow and inflow of gold. Banking activity, although less dependent upon agricultural fluctuations, also shows correlations with cycles in agricultural exports and in the physical volume of agricultural production. The role of agricultural fluctuations as the direct or indirect cause of the business cycle in this country has been of great importance, especially during the forty years before the World War.

O. D. D.

*Rus*, a Biographical Register of Rural Leadership in the United States and Canada (Ithaca: Published by the Authors, 1930, pp. 769), by L. H. and Ethel Z. Bailey, is the fourth issue of the publication. The preceding issues were published in 1915, 1920, and 1925. The 1930 publication contains 6,881 biographical entries. The volume is a reference register of living men and women, and includes those persons who are prominently engaged in rural work, and of whom the public has reason to inquire. The types of leaders recognized are farmers, teachers, investigators, business men, lecturers, ministers, farm and home demonstration agents, authors, editors, and leading personalities in the administrative, commercial, coöperative, organizational, political, and public-service fields. Although *Rus* is a comprehensive collection of biographical data, it is far from a complete enumeration of rural leaders. The fact that less than 7,000 answers to over 18,000 requests for information were received indicates that we have been given only a sample of what may be called rural leaders. No doubt the roster is typical, and in all probability every phase of rural leadership has an adequate representation for scientific validity. The lack of complete returns is no fault of the editorial office, but is rather an evidence of indifference or carelessness on the part of many who were solicited. In credit to both the editors and those who furnished the information, it should be said that all

contributions were voluntary and that subscribers for *Rus* were given no more consideration than non-subscribers. This volume, like the preceding ones, will be welcomed by all agricultural college and experiment station libraries, reference reading rooms of all types, as well as numerous associations whose object is the study of rural life.

O. D. D.

Students of the early history of Texas and of the career of Stephen F. Austin will be interested to know of the recent publication of *Three Manuscript Maps of Texas by Stephen F. Austin*, with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes, by Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin American Librarian, University of Texas, and Early Martin, Jr. (Privately printed, Austin, Texas, 1930.) The edition is limited to fifty-five numbered copies. The three maps prepared by Austin, one in 1822 and two in 1829, are reproduced in facsimile, together with a Mexican map, printed in 1826. Each map is accompanied by a careful explanation by the editors. There is also included a brief summary of the life of Austin and a detailed account of earlier known maps on which Texas was included, as well as a brief history of the preparation of the maps reproduced in the present volume. In addition, there appears a list of the manuscript maps of Texas from 1822 to 1835. The book measures 12½ by 17 inches and comprises 55 pages. It is beautifully printed in the Bodoni face of type, and the maps are reproduced in facsimile by a new process. The hope of the editors is to arouse interest in the much neglected early cartography of Texas. They have no doubt made a contribution in this publication and have produced a volume which is indeed a work of art.

O. D. W.

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, as editor of *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great French Thinkers of the Age of Reason* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1930, pp. 252), has published another valuable addition to the literature of commentation in the field of European political thought. The volume consists of a series of lectures delivered at King's College of the University of London during the session of 1928-1929 by a number of English authorities. Harold J. Laski has written the introductory chapter on the Age of Reason. The thinkers presented are: Bossuet, Fenelon, the Abbe de Saint-Pierre, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, Holbach, Morelly, and Mably. The contributors, in addition to Laski and the editor (the latter contributing the lecture on Rousseau), are Norman Sykes, R. A. Jones, Paul Vaucher, A. J. Grant, J. B. Black, William H. Wickwar, and C. H. Driver. While it is impossible within a brief space to comment upon the contribution of each lecturer, it may be said that the quality of all the lectures is high. Some are more satisfactory than others, but throughout there is an originality of treatment which makes a perusal of the entire book decidedly profitable.

O. D. W.

*The Recall of Public Officers, A Study of the Operation of the Recall in California* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. viii, 403), by Frederick L. Bird and Frances M. Ryan, might have received a shorter title and one more clearly indicating that the work is confined to California.

This criticism, however, does not detract from its value. Indeed, it is to be hoped that similar studies dealing with the recall in other states will be attempted. This and other new devices of democratic control which were preached so fervently by the "progressives" of twenty years ago have been neglected by serious students of government and should be examined after the fashion of the present writers. In their consideration of the recall in California they have apparently been exhaustive. The history of its adoption, its legal aspects, its operation in cities of different sizes, its use in state, county, and district, are all questions dealt with in the ten chapters into which the book is divided. A useful bibliography and appendix are attached.

O. D. W.

During the past year another college text has undergone a revision for the purpose of bringing it up to date. Professor Lester B. Shippee's *Recent American History* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. xi, 590), has been revised and rewritten. The revision was done for the earlier chapters of the book, the rewriting for the chapters dealing with the World War and subsequent events. In the earlier edition Professor Shippee said: "For much of this period events are too recent to have permitted anything more than tentative conclusions: time alone allows the perspective by which unimportant details take their proper place in the background and really significant happenings stand out clearly." The lapse of time since the first edition, which appeared in 1924, has allowed the author the opportunity to rearrange his material. The revised edition has a new perspective, and is, on the whole, satisfactory. It should continue to be a useful book in its field.

R. L. B.



# INDEX

	PAGE
Agricultural Land Tenure in Texas, by T. J. Cauley.....	135
American City Government and Administration, by Austin F. Macdon- ald, note .....	330
American History Told by Contemporaries, by Albert Bushnell Hart, note .....	210
American Party System, The, by Harold F. Gosnell and Charles E. Merriam, note.....	210
American Public Mind, The, by Peter Odegard, rev. by O. Douglas Weeks .....	446
Anderson, Eugene N., The First Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906, rev. by Charles A. Timm .....	447
Angell, Norman B., The Story of Money, note .....	210
Arneson, Ben A., The Maple Leaf Changes Color—Canada Goes Con- servative, No. III of Post-Mortems on the British and Canadian Elections .....	300
Auxiliary and Non-Party Organizations in Britain, by James K. Pollock..	393
Bailey, L. H. and Ethel, Rus, note.....	451
Bailey, Thomas A., Party Irregularity in the Senate of the United States, 1869-1901 .....	355
Balkan Pivot, The: Yugoslavia, A Study in Government and Adminis- tration, by Charles A. Beard and George Radin, rev. by Clarence Perkins .....	111
Beale, Howard K., The Critical Year, rev. by Rhea M. Smith.....	328
Beard, Charles A., and George Radin, The Balkan Pivot: Yugoslavia, A Study in Government and Administration, rev. by Clarence Perkins and James Harvey Robinson, The Development of Modern Europe, note .....	208
Benjamin, Gilbert Giddings, rev. of A History of Modern Culture, by Preserved Smith.....	193
Bernard, L. L., Schools of Sociology.....	117
Bieseke, R. L., The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831- 1861, rev. by E. W. Winkler.....	446
Bird, Frederick L., Recall of Public Officers, A Study of the Operation of the Recall in California, note.....	452
Bishop, Ward L., An Economic Analysis of the Constitutional Restric- tions upon Municipal Indebtedness, note .....	112
Blachly, Frederick F., and Miriam E. Oatman, The Government and Administration of Germany, rev. by Roscoe C. Martin.....	206
Blaisdell, Donald C., European Financial Control in the Ottoman Empire, rev. by Charles A. Timm .....	325
Blanchard, Phyllis, and E. R. Groves, Introduction to Mental Hygiene, rev. by Helen L. Koch .....	321
Book Reviews, edited by O. Douglass Weeks.....	94, 193, 317, 436
Capital and Labor under Fascism, by Carmen Haider, rev. by John B. Ewing .....	104
Carlson, Avery L., High Lights in Texas Banking Historp.....	79

	PAGE
Carlyle's Theory of the Hero, note	211
Castañeda, Carlos E. (ed.), <i>Nuevos Documentos Ineditos o Muy Raros para La Historia de Mexico</i> , rev. by J. Lloyd Mechem	107
editor of new volume of <i>Nuevos Documentos Ineditos o Muy Raros para La Historia de Mexico</i> , note	450
editor of <i>Three Manuscript Maps of Texas</i> , by Stephen F. Austin, note	452
Catchings, Waddill, and William Trufant Foster, <i>The Road to Plenty</i> , rev. by E. T. Miller	106
Cauley, T. J., <i>Agricultural Land Tenure in Texas</i>	135
Chinard, Gilbert, <i>Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism</i> , rev. by W. M. Gewehr	318
editor of <i>The Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson: His commonplace Book of Philosophers and Poets</i> , rev. by W. M. Gewehr	318
Chiu, Chang-Wei, <i>The Speaker of the House of Representatives since 1896</i> , note	211
Cicero, <i>On the Commonwealth</i> , trans. by George Holland Sabine and Stanley Barney Smith, note	114
Clark, Horace F., <i>Present Building and Loan Conditions in Texas</i>	68
Clark, Joseph L., and Frank Mann Stewart, <i>The Constitution and Government of Texas</i> , rev. by George C. Hester	444
<i>Classification and Economic Status of the Tenantry of a Texas Cotton Plantation</i> , by Edwin A. Elliott	408
Cole, Taylor, <i>The Police Jury of Louisiana</i>	55
Collins, George Rowland, <i>Marketing</i> , rev. by Everett G. Smith	440
<i>Commercial Relations Between the United States and Argentina</i> , The, by Paul DeWitt	156
<i>Concepts of State, Sovereignty and International Law</i> , by Johannes Mat-tern, note	211
<i>Constitution and Government of Texas</i> , The, by Joseph L. Clark and Frank Mann Stewart, rev. by George C. Hester	444
<i>Coöperative Retail Buying Associations</i> , by Wilford L. White, rev. by Kenneth Dameron	322
<i>Cost of Living Studies, II, How Workers Spend a Living Wage</i> , by Jessica B. Peixotto, note	207
<i>Critical Year</i> , The, by Howard K. Beale, rev. by Rhea M. Smith	328
Dameron, Kenneth, rev. of <i>Coöperative Retail Buying Associations</i> , by Wilford L. White	322
<i>Danger Spots in World Population</i> , by Warren S. Thompson, rev. by J. J. Spengler	94
<i>Dangers of Obedience and Other Essays</i> , The, by Harold J. Laski, rev. by B. F. Wright, Jr.	324
Davis, John W., <i>Party Government in the United States</i> , note	332
<i>Development of Modern Europe</i> , The, by Charles A. Beard and James Harvey Robinson, note	208
Dewey, John, <i>The Sources of a Science of Education</i> , rev. by E. T. Mitchell	110
DeWitt, Paul, <i>The Commercial Relations Between the United States and Argentina</i>	156

	PAGE
Dexter, Philip, and John Hunter, <i>The War Debts, An American View</i> , note	114
Duncan, Hannibal G., <i>Race and Population Problems</i> , rev. by J. J. Spengler	94
Duncan, O. D., rev. of <i>The Modern Family</i> , by Ruth Reed	204
Dunn, Frederick Sherwood, <i>The Practice and Procedure of International Conferences</i> , rev. by Charles A. Timm	205
Economic Analysis of the Constitutional Restrictions upon Municipal Indebtedness, An, by Ward L. Bishop, note	112
Economic Effects of Public Debts, by Shutaro Matsushita, note	209
Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political and Social Science Association	86
Elliott, Edwin A., <i>Classification and Economic Status of the Tenantry of a Texas Cotton Plantation</i>	408
English Government and Politics, by Frederic Austin Ogg, rev. by Roscoe C. Martin	109
Equality— <i>The Regulative Ideal for Political Science</i> , by T. V. Smith	12
Essentials of Democracy, The, by A. D. Lindsay, note	331
European Financial Control in the Ottoman Empire, by Donald C. Blaisdell, rev. by Charles A. Timm	325
Ewing, Cortez A. M., <i>Geography and the Supreme Court</i>	26
Ewing, John B., rev. of <i>Capital and Labor under Fascism</i> , by Carmen Haider	104
rev. of <i>Labor Problems</i> , by George S. Watkins	203
Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations, by Henry Merritt Wriston, rev. by Charles A. Timm	200
Falconer, Thomas, <i>Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, 1841-1842</i> , edited by F. W. Hodge, note	332
Federal Farm Board and the Agricultural Credit System, The, by V. P. Lee	47
Federal Limitations upon Municipal Ordinance Making Power, by Harvey Walker, note	209
Ferrara, Orestes, <i>The Private Correspondence of Nicolo Machiavelli</i> , note	331
First Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906, The, by Eugene N. Anderson, rev. by Charles A. Timm	447
Fisher, Irving, <i>The Money Illusion</i> , note	112
<i>The Theory of Interest</i> , rev. by Norman Spencer	437
Fleming, Denna Frank, <i>The Treaty Veto of the American Senate</i> , rev. by Charles A. Timm	101
Foster, William Trufant, and Waddill Catchings, <i>The Road to Plenty</i> , rev. by E. T. Miller	107
<i>Geography and the Supreme Court</i> , by Cortez A. M. Ewing	26
Gerig, Benjamin, <i>The Open Door and the Mandates System</i> , rev. by S. D. Myres, Jr.	449
German Cabinet in Theory and in Practice, The, by Bertram W. Maxwell	148
Gewehr, W. M., rev. of <i>Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism</i> , by Gilbert Chinard	318

	PAGE
rev. of The Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson: His Commonplace Book of Philosophers and Poets, edited by Gilbert Chinard.....	318
Godshall, Wilson Leon, Tsingtau under Three Flags, note.....	330
Gosnell, Harold F., and Charles E. Merriam, The American Party System, note.....	210
Governance in Tennessee Counties, by J. W. Manning.....	173
Government and Administration of Germany, The, by Frederick F. Blachly and Miriam E. Oatman, rev. by Roscoe C. Martin.....	206
Graham, M. K., The Marvels of Modern Banking.....	1
Groves, E. R., and Blanchard, Phyllis, Introduction to Mental Hygiene, rev. by Helen L. Koch.....	321
Haider, Carmen, Capital and Labor under Fascism, rev. by John B. Ewing.....	104
Hale, E. E., rev. of The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers, by Louis S. Reed.....	317
Hart, Albert Bushnell, American History Told by Contemporaries, note.....	210
Hearnshaw, F. J. C., The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great French Thinkers of the Age of Reason, note.....	452
Hester, George C., rev. of The Constitution and Government of Texas, by Joseph L. Clark and Frank Mann Stewart.....	444
High Lights in Texas Banking History, by Avery L. Carlson.....	79
History and Functions of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, by Clarence G. Shenton, note.....	331
History of Modern Culture, A, by Preserved Smith, rev. by Gilbert Giddings Benjamin.....	193
History of Nationalism in the East, A, by Hans Kohn, rev. by Charles A. Timm.....	327
History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861, The, by R. L. Bieseke, rev. by E. W. Winkler.....	446
Hodge, F. W., editor of Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, 1841-1842, by Thomas Falconer, note.....	332
How Britain Is Governed, by Ramsay Muir, rev. by Roscoe C. Martin.....	439
Hull, William I., India's Political Crisis, note.....	208
Hullinger, Edwin Ware, The New Fascist State, rev. by Roscoe C. Martin.....	202
Hunt, Robert L., Overseas Marketing of Dairy Produce in New Zealand Under the Dairy Export Act of 1923.....	307
Hunter, John, and Philip Dexter, The War Debts, An American View, note.....	114
India's Political Crisis, by William I. Hull, note.....	208
Industrializing the Red Crusade, by S. Gale Lowrie.....	335
International Association of Chiefs of Police, Committee on Uniform Crime Records, Uniform Crime Reporting: A Complete Manual for Police, rev. by F. M. Stewart.....	110
International Mandates, by Aaron M. Margalith, rev. by S. D. Myres, Jr.....	449
Intimate Papers of Colonel House Arranged as a Narrative, by Charles Seymour, rev. by Charles W. Ramsdell.....	96
Introduction to Mental Hygiene, by E. R. Groves and Phyllis Blanchard, rev. by Helen L. Koch.....	321

	PAGE
Introduction to Social Anthropology, An, by Clark Wissler, rev. by J. E. Pearce	196
Italy, by Luigi Villari, rev. by T. W. Riker	326
Johnson, Charles S., The Negro in American Civilization, rev. by Carl M. Rosenquist	445
Jones, C. L., H. K. Norton, and P. T. Moon, The United States and the Caribbean, note	113
Kelley, Truman Lee, Scientific Method: Its Function in Research and in Education, rev. by H. T. Manuel	197
Kennedy, Louise Venable, The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward, rev. by Carl M. Rosenquist	445
Koch, Helen L., rev. of Introduction to Mental Hygiene, by E. R. Groves and Phyllis Blanchard	321
Kohn, Hans, A History of Nationalism in the East, rev. by Charles A. Timm	327
Kneier, Charles M., Regulation of Conditions of Employment on Municipal Public Works	377
Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers, The, by Louis S. Reed, rev. by E. E. Hale	317
Labor Problems, by George S. Watkins, rev. by John B. Ewing	203
Laski, Harold J., The Dangers of Obedience and Other Essays, rev. by B. F. Wright, Jr.	324
Lee, V. P., The Federal Farm Board and the Agricultural Credit System	47
Legislative Principles, by Robert Luce, rev. by O. Douglas Weeks	448
Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, 1841-1842, by Thomas Falconer, edited by F. W. Hodge, note	332
Lindsay, A. D., The Essentials of Democracy, note	331
Literary Bible of Thomas Jefferson: His Commonplace Book of Philosophers and Poets, edited by Gilbert Chinard, rev. by W. M. Gewehr	318
Lowrie, S. Gale, Industrializing the Red Crusade	335
Luce, Robert, Legislative Principles, rev. by O. Douglas Weeks	448
Lueher, Elmer, The New German Republic, rev. by Charles W. Pipkin	103
Lumley, Frederick E., Principles of Sociology, note	113
Lundquist, Gustav A., and Clyde B. Moore, Rural Social Science, note	210
Macdonald, Austin F., American City Government and Administration	330
Madden, Marie R., Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain, note	450
Mahan, W. B., The Sophistic Character of American Philosophy of Education	247
Makers of the Unwritten Constitution, The, by William Bennett Munro, note	333
Making the Fascist State, by Herbert W. Schneider, rev. by Roscoe C. Martin	202
Manning, J. W., Governance in Tennessee Counties	173
Manuel, H. T., Scientific Method: Its Function in Research and in Education, by Truman Lee Kelley	197
Maple Leaf Changes Color, The—Canada Goes Conservative, by Ben A. Arneson, No. III of Post-Mortems on the British and Canadian Elections	300

	PAGE
Margalith, Aaron M., <i>The International Mandates</i> , rev. by S. D. Myres, Jr.	449
Marketing, by George Rowland Collins, rev. by Everett G. Smith	440
Martin, Charles E., <i>The Politics of Peace</i> , rev. by Coral H. Tullis	443
Martin, Roscoe C., rev. of <i>English Government and Politics</i> , by Frederic Austin Ogg	109
rev. of <i>Making the Fascist State</i> , by Herbert W. Schneider	202
rev. of <i>The New Fascist State</i> , by Edwin Ware Hullinger	202
rev. of <i>The Government and Administration of Germany</i> , by Frederick F. Blachly and Miriam E. Oatman	206
rev. of <i>How Britain Is Governed</i> , by Ramsay Muir	439
Marvels of Modern Banking, <i>The</i> , by M. K. Graham	1
Matsushita, Shutaro, <i>Economic Effects of Public Debts</i> , note	209
Mattern, Johannes, <i>Concepts of State, Sovereignty and International Law</i> , note	211
Maxwell, Bertram W., <i>The German Cabinet in Theory and in Practice</i>	148
McGinnis, E. K., <i>Discussion of Present Building and Loan Conditions in Texas</i> , by Horace F. Clark	74
Mecham, J. Lloyd, rev. of <i>Nuevos Documentos Ineditos o Muy Raros para La Historia de Mexico</i> , edited by Carlos F. Castañeda	107
Merriam, Charles E., and Harold F. Gosnell, <i>The American Party System</i> , note	210
Miller, E. T., rev. of <i>The Road to Plenty</i> , by William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings	107
Mitchell, E. T., rev. of <i>The Sources of a Science of Education</i> , by John Dewey	110
Modern Family, <i>The</i> , by Ruth Reed, rev. by O. D. Duncan	204
Money Illusion, <i>The</i> , by Irving Fisher, note	112
Moon, P. T., H. K. Norton, and C. L. Jones, <i>The United States and the Caribbean</i> , note	113
Moore, Clyde B., and Gustav A. Lundquist, <i>Rural Social Science</i> , note	210
Morgan, William Thomas, <i>The Socialist Victory in Great Britain, No. II of Post-Mortems on the British and Canadian Elections</i>	277
Mott, Rodney L., <i>Retrospect on the British Election, No. I of Post-Mortems on the British and Canadian Elections</i>	260
Muir, Ramsay, <i>How Britain Is Governed</i> , rev. by Roscoe C. Martin	439
Munro, William Bennett, <i>Makers of the Unwritten Constitution</i> , note	333
Myres, S. D., Jr., <i>The Permanent Mandates Commission and the Administration of Mandates</i>	213
rev. of <i>The International Mandates</i> , by Aaron M. Margalith	449
rev. of <i>The Open Door and the Mandates System</i> , by Benjamin Gerig	449
Negro in American Civilization, <i>The</i> , by Charles S. Johnson, rev. by Carl M. Rosenquist	445
Negro Peasant Turns Cityward, <i>The</i> , by Louise Venable Kennedy, rev. by Carl M. Rosenquist	445
New Fascist State, <i>The</i> , by Edwin Ware Hullinger, rev. by Roscoe C. Martin	202
New German Republic, <i>The</i> , by Elmer Lueher, rev. by Charles W. Pipkin	103

	PAGE
Norton, H. K., C. L. Jones, and P. T. Moon, <i>The United States and the Caribbean</i> , note	113
Nuevos Documentos Ineditos o Muy Raros para La Historia de Mexico, by Carlos E. Castañeda (ed), rev. by J. L. Mecham	107
new volume edited by Carlos E. Castañeda, note	450
Oatman, Miriam E., and Frederick F. Blachly, <i>The Government and Administration of Germany</i> , rev. by Roscoe C. Martin	206
Odegard, Peter, <i>The American Public Mind</i> , rev. by O. Douglas Weeks	446
Ogg, Frederick Austin, <i>English Government and Politics</i> , rev. by Roscoe C. Martin	109
On the Commonwealth, Cicero, trans. by George Holland Sabine and Stanley Barney Smith, note	114
Open Door and the Mandates System, The, by Benjamin Gerig, rev. by S. D. Myres, Jr.	449
Overseas Marketing of Dairy Produce in New Zealand under the Dairy Export Act of 1923, by Robert L. Hunt	307
Party Government in the United States, by John W. Davis, note	332
Party Irregularity in the Senate of the United States, 1869-1901, by Thomas A. Bailey	355
Pearce, J. E., rev. of <i>An Introduction to Social Anthropology</i> , by Clark Wissler	196
Peixotto, Jessica B., <i>Cost of Living Studies, II, How Workers Spend a Living Wage</i> , note	207
Permanent Mandates Commission and the Administration of Mandates, The, by S. D. Myres, Jr.	213
Petrie, Sir Charles, <i>The Story of Government</i> , rev. by O. Douglas Weeks	206
Pipkin, Charles W., rev. of <i>The New German Republic</i> , by Elmer Lueher	103
Police Jury of Louisiana, The, by Taylor Cole	55
Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain, by Marie R. Madden, note	450
Politics of Peace, The, by Charles E. Martin, rev. by Coral H. Tullis	443
Pollock, James K., <i>Auxiliary and Non-Party Organizations in Britain</i>	393
Post-Mortems on the British and Canadian Elections	260
Practice and Procedure of International Conferences, The, by Frederick Sherwood Dunn, rev. by Charles A. Timm	205
Present Building and Loan Conditions in Texas, by Horace F. Clark	68
Present Building and Loan Conditions in Texas, by Horace F. Clark, Discussion by E. K. McGinnis	74
Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, by Pitirim Sorokin and Carl C. Zimmerman, rev. by Carl M. Rosenquist	201
Principles of Sociology, by Frederick E. Lumley, note	113
Private Correspondence of Nicolo Machiavelli, The, by Orestes Ferrara, note	331
Race and Population Problems, by Hannibal G. Duncan, rev. by J. J. Spengler	94
Radin, George, and Beard, Charles A., <i>The Balkan Pivot: Yugoslavia, A Study in Government and Administration</i> , rev. by Clarence Perkins	111
Ramsdell, Charles W., rev. of <i>The Intimate Papers of Colonel House Arranged as a Narrative</i> , by Charles Seymour	96

	PAGE
Recall of Public Officers, A Study of the Operation of the Recall in California, by Frederick L. Bird, note	452
Recent American History, by Lester B. Shippee, note	453
Recent Economic Changes in the United States, rev. by G. W. Stocking	99
Reed, Louis S., The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers, rev. by E. E. Hale	317
Réed, Ruth, The Modern Family, rev. by O. D. Duncan	204
Regulation of Conditions of Employment on Municipal Public Works, by Charles M. Kneier	377
Relation of the Short Ballot to Efficient Government and Popular Control, by George W. Spicer	182
Retrospect on the British Election, by Rodney L. Mott, No. I of Post-Mortems on the British and Canadian Elections	260
Rhyne, Jennings J., Social and Community Problems of Oklahome, note	328
Riker, T. W., rev. of Italy, by Luigi Villari	326
Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, The, by Mary Evelyn Townsend, rev. by Charles A. Timm	442
Rise of Agricultural Fluctuations in the Business Cycle, by Vladimir P. Timoshenko, note	451
Road to Plenty, The, note	114
Road to Plenty, The, by William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings, rev. by E. T. Miller	106
Robinson, James Harvey, and Charles A. Beard, The Development of Modern Europe, note	208
Rösenquist, Carl M., rev. of Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, by Pitirim Sorokin and Carl C. Zimmerman	201
rev. of The Negro in American Civilization, by Charles S. Johnson	445
rev. of The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward, by Louise Venable Kennedy	445
Rural Social Science, by Gustav A. Lundquist and Clyde B. Moore, note	210
Rüs, by L. H. and Ethel Z. Bailey, note	451
Sabine, George Holland, and Stanley Barney Smith, translators of Cicero's On the Commonwealth, note	114
Sanderson, Dwight, The Sociology of the Family, note	332
Schneider, Herbert W., Making the Fascist State, rev. by Roscoe C. Martin	202
Schools of Sociology, by L. L. Bernard	117
Scientific Method: Its Function in Research and in Education, by Truman Lee Kelley, rev. by H. T. Manuel	197
Seymour, Charles, The Intimate Papers of Colonel House Arranged as a Narrative, Volume II, Into the World War; Volume IV, The Ending of the War, rev. by Charles W. Ramsdell	96
Shenton, Clarence G., History and Functions of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, note	331
Shippee, Lester B., Recent American History, note	453
Sikes, Earl R., State and Federal Corrupt Practices Legislation, note	211
Simonde de Sismonde as an Economist, by Mao-Lan Tuan, note	329
Smith, Alfred E., Up to Now: An Autobiography, rev. by Frank M. Stewart	199

	PAGE
Smith, Everett G., rev. of <i>Marketing</i> , by George Rowland Collins	440
Smith, Preserved, <i>A History of Modern Culture</i> , rev. by Gilbert Giddings Benjamin	193
Smith, Rhea M., rev. of <i>The Critical Year</i> , by Howard K. Beale	328
Smith, Stanley Barney, and George Holland Sabine, translators of Cicero's <i>On the Commonwealth</i> , note	114
Smith, T. V., <i>Equality—The Regulative Ideal for Political Science</i>	12
Social and Community Problems of Oklahoma, by Jennings J. Rhyne, note	328
Social and Political Ideas of Some Great French Thinkers of the Age of Reason, <i>The</i> , edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, note	452
Social Legislation in Uruguay, by Ildefonso Pereda Valdes	314
Socialist Victory in Great Britain, <i>The</i> , by William Thomas Morgan, No. II of <i>Post-Mortems on the British and Canadian Elections</i>	277
Sociology of the Family, <i>The</i> , by Dwight Sanderson, note	332
Sophistic Character of American Philosophy of Education, <i>The</i> , by W. B. Mahan	247
Sorokin, Pitirim, and Carl C. Zimmerman, <i>Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology</i> , rev. by Carl M. Rosenquist	201
Sources of a Science of Education, <i>The</i> , by John Dewey, rev. by E. T. Mitchell	110
Speaker of the House of Representatives Since 1896, <i>The</i> , by Chang-Wei Chiu, note	211
Spencer, Norman, rev. of <i>The Theory of Interest</i> , by Irving Fisher	437
Spengler, J. J., rev. of <i>Danger Spots in World Population</i> , by Warren S. Thompson	94
rev. of <i>Race and Population Problems</i> , by Hannibal G. Duncan	94
Spicer, George W., <i>Relation of the Short Ballot to Efficient Government and Popular Control</i>	182
State and Federal Corrupt-Practices Legislation, by Earl R. Sikes, note	211
Stephen J. Field, <i>Craftsman of the Law</i> , by Carl Brent Swisher, rev. by B. F. Wright, Jr.	436
Stewart, Frank M., rev. of <i>Uniform Crime Reporting: A Complete Manual for Police</i> , by International Association of Chiefs of Police, Committee on Uniform Crime Records	110
rev. of <i>Up to Now: An Autobiography</i> , by Alfred E. Smith	199
and Clark, Joseph L., <i>The Constitution and Government of Texas</i> , rev. by George C. Hester	444
Stocking, George Ward, rev. of <i>Recent Economic Changes in the United States</i>	99
Story of Government, <i>The</i> , by Sir Charles Petrie, rev. by O. Douglas Weeks	206
Story of Money, <i>The</i> , by Norman B. Angell, note	210
Swisher, Carl Brent, Stephen J. Field, <i>Craftsman of the Law</i> , rev. by B. F. Wright, Jr.	436
Theory of Interest, <i>The</i> , by Irving Fisher, rev. by Norman Spencer	437
Thomas Jefferson: <i>The Apostle of Americanism</i> , by Gilbert Chinard, rev. by W. M. Gewehr	318
Thompson, Warren S., <i>Danger Spots in World Population</i> , rev. by J. J. Spengler	94

	PAGE
Three Manuscript Maps of Texas, by Stephen F. Austin, edited by Carlos E. Castañeda, note	452
Timm, Charles A., rev. of <i>The Treaty Veto of the American Senate</i> , by Denna Frank Fleming	101
rev. of <i>Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations</i> , by Henry Merritt Wriston	200
rev. of <i>The Practice and Procedure of International Conferences</i> , by Frederick Sherwood Dunn	205
rev. of <i>European Financial Control in the Ottoman Empire</i> , by Donald C. Blaisdell	325
rev. of <i>A History of Nationalism in the East</i> , by Hans Kohn	327
rev. of <i>The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire</i> , by Mary Evelyn Townsend	442
rev. of <i>The First Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906</i> , by Eugene N. Anderson	447
Timoshenko, Vladimir P., <i>The Rise of Agricultural Fluctuations in the Business Cycle</i> , note	451
Townsend, Mary Evelyn, <i>The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884-1918</i> , rev. by Charles A. Timm	442
<i>Treaty Veto of the American Senate</i> , The, by Denna Frank Fleming, rev. by Charles A. Timm	101
Tsingtau under Three Flags by Wilson Leon Godshall, note	330
Tuan, Mao-Lan, <i>Simonde de Sismonde as an Economist</i> , note	329
Tullis, Coral H., rev. of <i>The Politics of Peace</i> , by Charles E. Martin	443
<i>Uniform Crime Reporting: A Complete Manual for Police</i> , by International Association of Chiefs of Police, Committee on Uniform Crime Records, rev. by Frank M. Stewart	110
<i>United States and the Caribbean</i> , The, by C. L. Jones, H. K. Norton, and P. T. Moon, note	113
<i>Up to Now: An Autobiography</i> , by Alfred E. Smith, rev. by Frank M. Stewart	199
Valdes, Ildefonso Pereda, <i>Social Legislation in Uruguay</i>	314
Villari, Luigi, Italy, rev. by T. W. Riker	326
Walker, Harvey, <i>Federal Limitations upon Municipal Ordinance-Making Power</i> , note	209
<i>War Debts, An American View</i> , The, by Philip Dexter and John Hunter, note	114
Watkins, George S., <i>Labor Problems</i> , rev. by John B. Ewing	203
Weeks, O. Douglas, editor of <i>Book Reviews</i> 94, 193, 317,	436
rev. of <i>The Story of Government</i> , by Sir Charles Petrie	206
rev. of <i>The American Public Mind</i> , by Peter Odegard	446
rev. of <i>Legislative Principles</i> , by Robert Luce	448
White, Wilford L., <i>Coöperative Retail Buying Associations</i> , rev. by Kenneth Dameron	322
Winkler, E. W., rev. of <i>The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861</i> , by R. L. Bieseke	446
Wissler, Clark, <i>An Introduction to Social Anthropology</i> , rev. by J. E. Pearce	196

	PAGE
Wright, B. F., Jr., rev. of <i>The Dangers of Obedience and Other Essays</i> , by Harold J. Laski	324
rev. of Stephen J. Field, <i>Craftsman of the Law</i> , by Carl Brent Swisher	486
Wriston, Henry Merritt, <i>Executive Agents in American Foreign Rela- tions</i> , rev. by Charles A. Timm	200
Zimmerman, Carl C., and Pitirim Sorokin, <i>Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology</i> , rev. by Carl M. Rosenquist	201



## SALE OF BACK NUMBERS AND PROCEEDINGS

### BACK NUMBERS

The Association is still in a position to supply all back numbers of the *QUARTERLY*. The supply of certain numbers is almost exhausted, consequently, libraries and individuals interested in securing replacements or full sets should place their orders without delay. Volumes are unbound. Prices, which are net cash on delivery and cover transportation charges are as follows:

\$3.00 per volume; \$.75 per number

### PROCEEDINGS

The Association published the *PROCEEDINGS* of the Fifth and Sixth Annual Meetings (1924 and 1925). Some copies are still on hand and may be had at the following prices, net cash on delivery, with transportation prepaid:

\$.50 per copy, paper binding; \$1.00 per copy, cloth binding (*PROCEEDINGS* for 1925 meeting only).

Address orders for either the *QUARTERLY* or the *PROCEEDINGS* to

The Southwestern Political  
and Social Science  
Association  
University Station  
Austin, Texas

## THE PROPONENTS OF LIMITED MONARCHY - IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE

FRANCIS HOTMAN  
*and*  
JEAN BODIN

*By*  
BEATRICE REYNOLDS

PRICE \$3.50

COLUMBIA  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

## THE BLACK WORKER THE NEGRO

*and*

## THE LABOR MOVEMENT

*by*

Sterling D. Spero

*and*

Abram L. Harris

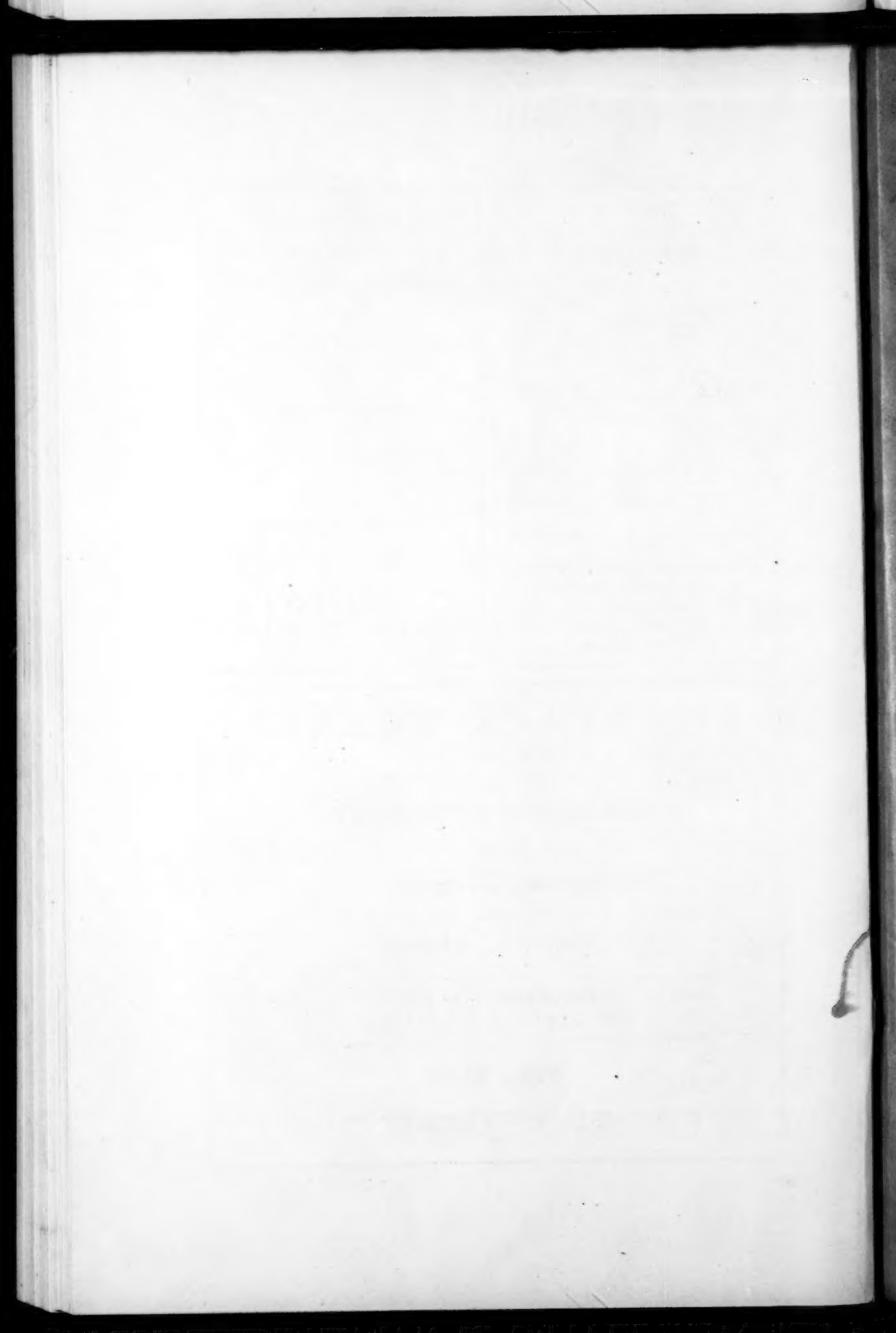
---

*An Exposition of the Negro's  
New Status in Industry*

---

Price \$4.50

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS



# **The Southwestern Political and Social Science Association**

## **PRESIDENT**

**D. Y. THOMAS, Fayetteville, Arkansas**

## **FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT**

**J. Q. DEALEY, Dallas, Texas**

## **SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT**

**J. F. ZIMMERMAN, Albuquerque, New Mexico**

## **THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT**

**M. J. WHITE, New Orleans, Louisiana**

## **SECRETARY-TREASURER**

**CHARLES A. TIMM, Austin, Texas**

---

## **EXECUTIVE COUNCIL**

**PRESIDENT, D. Y. THOMAS, Fayetteville, Arkansas**

**EX-PRESIDENT, M. K. GRAHAM, Graham, Texas**

**EX-PRESIDENT, H. Y. BENEDICT, Austin, Texas**

**EX-PRESIDENT, ELMER SCOTT, Dallas, Texas**

**EX-PRESIDENT, W. B. BIZZELL, Norman, Oklahoma**

**EX-PRESIDENT, W. M. W. SPLAWN, Washington, D. C.**

**EX-PRESIDENT, GEORGE VAUGHAN, Fayetteville, Arkansas**

**EX-PRESIDENT, H. G. JAMES, Vermillion, South Dakota**

**VICE-PRESIDENT, J. Q. DEALEY, Dallas, Texas**

**VICE-PRESIDENT, J. F. ZIMMERMAN, Albuquerque, New Mexico**

**VICE-PRESIDENT, M. J. WHITE, New Orleans, Louisiana**

## **THE BOARD OF EDITORS**

**SECRETARY-TREASURER, CHARLES A. TIMM, Austin, Texas**

**ELECTED MEMBERS** { **H. H. GUICH, Dallas, Texas**  
**W. J. McCONNELL, Denton, Texas**

**THE SOUTHWESTERN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY is supplied to all members of the Southwestern Political and Social Science Association. The subscription price of the QUARTERLY is three dollars a year. Applications for membership, orders for the QUARTERLY, and remittances should be addressed to Charles A. Timm, Secretary-Treasurer of the Association, University Station, Austin, Texas.**

**Correspondence with reference to contributions to the QUARTERLY should be addressed to the Board of Editors, University Station, Austin, Texas.**